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HISTORY

CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

REV. MICHAEL BURNET, M.D.

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Vol. X.

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HISTORY  
OF THE  
CHURCH IN SCOTLAND.

BY THE  
REV. MICHAEL RUSSELL, LL.D.

AUTHOR OF THE CONNEXION OF SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY, &c.

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VOL. II.

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T. A. Dean, sculp<sup>t</sup>

THE RIGHT REV<sup>d</sup> WILLIAM FORBES.

FIRST BISHOP OF EDINBURGH.



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OF THE  
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—*Armada*—James inclined to throw himself on the popular ministers—His speech—Persecution of Archbishop Adamson—Dispute in Presbytery of St. Andrew's—Petitions presented to Parliament—Polity ratified by the States—Remarks on this measure—Prelates retain their seats and votes in Parliament—Principles of dissent not yet recognised—Maxims of the first Reformers—Melville the father of Presbyterianism in Scotland—People carried to extremes by their hatred of Popery—Reformers encouraged learning—Foundation of schools.

THE decided tone and bold measures adopted by the presbyterian leaders in the Church, could not fail to alarm the adherents of episcopacy. Aware that the government could not oppose any permanent obstacle to the accomplishment of their wishes, and perfectly indifferent to any praise or blame which might proceed from that quarter, the Assembly pronounced their decisions with as little hesitation, restraint, or fear, as if the civil authority had already ceased to exist<sup>1</sup>.

The pressure of circumstances induced both the sovereign and the prelates to abstain from an opposition which must have proved at once hazardous and unavailing. The Archbishops of St. Andrew's and

<sup>1</sup> The decree of the Assembly was expressed as follows: "Forasmuch as travels have been taken in the forming the policy of the Kirk, and diverse suits made to the magistrate for approbation thereof, which albeit have not taken the happy effect which good men desire, yet that posterity should judge well of the present age and of the meaning of the Kirk, the Assembly has concluded that the Book of Policy, agreed to in diverse Assemblies before, should be registered in the Acts of the Kirk, and to remain therein *ad perpetuam rei memoriam*; and the copies thereof to be taken by any presbyter."—MS. Acts of Assembly, folio 951.



Glasgow are represented as having even made certain concessions in regard to the power of visitation, and to have expressed their willingness to accept the charge of particular flocks. The King, on his part, manifested a wish that matters might be so far adjusted as to remove the fears of the more zealous ministers, without endangering the interests of those in whom he still reposed the greatest confidence. It is not improbable, too, that he placed some hope in the tranquillizing effect of such moderate measures as might gain time without sacrificing principle; being convinced, as he states in one of his works, that the "learned, grave, and honest men of the ministry were ever ashamed of and offended with the temerity and presumption" of the democratical faction who precipitated the ecclesiastical innovations in the early part of his reign. This opinion is confirmed by another writer, who affirms positively, that it was by reason of the opposition made to the Presbyterians by many wise, learned, and godly brethren, who stood firmly for the ancient discipline of the Church, that episcopacy was so long a condemning<sup>1</sup>."

Among those who strenuously opposed the decision of the Assembly was Erskine of Dun, one of the most moderate and enlightened of the Reformers, who, in his capacity of superintendent, would not

<sup>1</sup> Basilikon Doron. Works of King James, p. 160. "Episcopacy not abjured in Scotland," p. 97. This work is ascribed to Dr. Maxwell, who was first Bishop of Ross, afterwards Bishop of Killala, and finally Archbishop of Tuam. "*Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*," p. 42, &c. This little tract was written by Archbishop Spotswood, in reply to the *Hier. Philadel. Epist.* of Calderwood.

permit the new model to be introduced into the district of Angus and Mearns; declaring to Melville, who ventured to expostulate with him, that such violent measures as had been countenanced at Dundee, would prove the bane of the Scottish Church. Spotswood, the superintendent of Lothian, declared in like manner against the Presbyterian scheme, and used to say that those hot-headed ministers, if not checked in time, would ruin all; and that, although he had nothing to object against the doctrine of the Reformation, yet he believed the government of the ancient Church preferable to that now introduced. Similar sentiments were held by Winram, Hay, Arbuthnot, Pont, Lindsay, Polworth, and Smeaton; to whom may be added, Boyd, Adamson, Cunningham, and Campbell. These learned persons made a vigorous stand against the system of parity, and withdrew not their opposition till they were hooted by the mob, and compelled to leave the Assembly.

Having proceeded so far without exciting the open resentment of the King, the ministers became sanguine in their hopes of ultimate success. But James had no wish to gratify the ambition of Melville, whose temper and principles seemed quite incompatible with the existence of monarchical rule. In the Parliament, accordingly, which met at Edinburgh, in the month of October, no step was taken to give a legal sanction to the Presbyterian discipline. On the contrary, it had been determined to fill the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, lately rendered vacant by the death of Boyd; a measure which was naturally regarded as an unequivocal indication that the permanence of the hierarchy was an object of greater importance to

the Crown, than the removal of what were called the corruptions incident to the state of Bishops.

Montgomery, the person selected by the Court for this high office, was accused of having entered into a simoniacal contract with the Duke of Lennox, through whose influence he had obtained the appointment. A collision, accordingly, took place between the ecclesiastical power and the royal prerogative ; the Assembly threatening excommunication, while the King menaced the clergy with the punishment due to rebels. But the vigour displayed by the civil authority obtained a temporary triumph. The Moderator, when about to direct against the prelate the thunders of spiritual wrath, was pulled from his chair<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 316. Collier, vol. ii. p. 575. Montgomery appears to have been a fickle and imprudent rather than a bad man. The inquiry into his life and doctrine brought to light some amusing facts, which were very gravely submitted to the consideration of the King. He was accused of proposing a question as to the circumcision of women ; of having said, that discipline was a thing indifferent ; of calling the ministers capitious, and men of curious brains ; of using the examples of Ambrose and Augustine to prove the lawfulness of Bishops in the Church ; of charging the ministry with sedition, and warning them not to put on or off crowns, for if they meddled therewith, they would be reproved ; of denying that there is any mention made in the New Testament of a Presbytery or Eldership ; of accusing the ministers of writing pasquels, of lying, backbiting, &c.

James answered, " That whatever colour they gave to the process, he knew that his yielding to accept the place was the true quarrel ; and for himself, albeit he loved the religion and agreed fully therewith, he allowed not divers heads of their policy ; nevertheless, for the particular in hand, he would leave the man to make his own answer." Spotswood, p. 317.

This defeat roused the indignation of the popular preachers, who, not satisfied with proclaiming the danger with which the Church was encompassed, assailed the character of the King's advisers, and charged them with the intention of introducing Popery. James intreated the Assembly to check so flagrant an abuse of the clerical function; but the members of that Court, so far from aiding the cause of order and decency, not only acquitted the accused of all error, slander, and just ground of offence; they even pronounced, that they had delivered "solid, good, and true doctrine." His Majesty, finding that no redress could be obtained through the gentle medium of complaint and expostulation, called into exercise the civil power, and expelled from the capital John Dury, now become one of the most turbulent of the ministers<sup>1</sup>.

This determined conduct, which evinced more courage than the prince could usually command, gave deep umbrage to many of the Churchmen. Adopting the maxim of the Roman Catholics, that the clergy could not be lawfully sisted before a lay tribunal, and were not accountable except to a spiritual court for any thing they might say in the discharge of their professional duties, they lifted up their voices in mixed lamentation and invective against the dreadful tyranny of which they had just witnessed so atrocious an example. A deputation of the Assembly followed the King to Perth, where they laid before him the grievances of the Church, and implored that, for the glory of God, these evils might be removed. In

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, p. 119. Spotswood, p. 317. Buik of Universal Kirk, p. 281.

particular, they complained that he had assumed a spiritual authority which belonged only to Christ; and of which the administration was committed to the ministers of religion; that, acting on this usurpation, he had bestowed benefices on unworthy persons; that he had prohibited ecclesiastical courts from exercising the discipline with which they were entrusted; that he had failed to execute the laws made for the maintenance of the true religion; and finally that he had shaken hands with the bloody murderers and persecutors of God's people<sup>1</sup>.

These complaints rested chiefly on the ground formerly occupied by the Popish clergy, namely, that a certain body of men, calling themselves the true Church, were, by Divine authority, invested with a power which no earthly sovereign had a right to challenge, and which might be exerted against himself and all his subjects, without any other check than such as should happen to be imposed by a feeling of compassion. The allusion to the royal interference with the discipline of ecclesiastical courts, applied, in a special manner, to the practice of excommunication. This instrument of spiritual terror, the use of which had now become very common, extended the vengeance of the priesthood to both worlds; inflicting very severe disqualifications in civil life, and threatening still more tremendous sufferings in the state beyond the grave. His Majesty, guided by the advice of his council, found it expedient, in many cases, to annul the effects of this curse, so far at least as they respected temporal disabilities; though, in every

<sup>1</sup> Buik of Universal Kirk, p. 309. Calderwood, p. 117

instance, he left the sentence of the Church in full force, with reference to its operation on the eternal welfare of such unfortunate persons as had incurred the wrath of the ministers. These last were naturally indignant at finding the weapons of their warfare thus deprived of their most alarming attributes ; and more especially on perceiving the profane shield of the Government from time to time interposed, to ward off their best-aimed attacks <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The "power of the keys," which had been not a little abused by the ancient Communion, was eagerly grasped by the Reformers, and employed, too, on many occasions, as the means of a very efficient intimidation. Rutherford, in his "*Lex Rex*," insists, that the ministers "have the keys to open and shut heaven to, and upon the King, if he should offend." Principal Baillie, too, in a very bitter tract, entitled, "*An Historical Vindication of the Government of the Church of Scotland*," ascribes what he considers the blunders and false reasoning of his antagonist, the Bishop of Ross, to the judicial effects of excommunication. "The General Assembly," says he, "for just causes did chastise you with their sharpest rod of excommunication, they did deliver you into the hands of the father of lies and blasphemies; if there were no more than what here you write, it is a demonstration that the sentence of that reverend Assembly against you is ratified in heaven, and that God, in his justice, according to the word of his faithful servant, hath delivered your soul to be acted upon by that evil spirit!—The spirit that leads you must be permitted to breathe out his natural air, and to be according to his very ancient custom.—So dangerous is it to be put into the hands of the devil by the servants of God, according to their Master's warrant," p. 2, and pp. 32, 33.

It must be left to others to determine, whether the fact that Bishop Maxwell was found dead in his private chamber, on his knees, in the attitude of prayer, be another proof that the sentence of the Assembly had taken effect.

The Presbyterian party thirsted for the blood of this prelate ;



Amidst the numerous proofs of clerical presumption and intolerance which darken the page of Scottish history at this period, there also occur occasional displays of courage, magnanimity, and contempt of danger, which lay claim to admiration. When, for example, the commissioners had concluded their detail of grievances, the Earl of Arran, who was in attendance on the King, asked, with much appearance of passion, who would dare to subscribe these treasonable articles? Melville, one of the deputation, immediately replied, "We dare, and will subscribe them, and will render our lives in the cause." Seizing a pen, he, without hesitation, affixed his own name; upon which the rest, with equal resolution, followed his example. It is manifest, therefore, that, if the Presbyterians longed for the execution of the penal laws upon the Roman Catholics, and would thereby have inflicted banishment, confiscation of goods, and even the pains of death, on a large portion of their countrymen, they themselves at the same time were ready to submit to martyrdom, in its most appalling form, for what they esteemed the cause of God and the interests of divine truth.

(1582.) An incident soon afterwards occurred, which afforded to the preachers an opportunity of testifying their resentment against the King for his indifference or hostility to their views. Several noblemen, either dissatisfied with the policy pursued by James under the direction of Lennox and Arran,

they meant him, as Baillie expresses it, "to tread in the *last footsteps* of William Laud, as he had done in the former with great joy," p. 14.

or envious of the power which these favourites possessed at court, came to the resolution of placing their sovereign under restraint, and of giving a new turn to state affairs. The result of this conspiracy appeared in the *Raid*, or Enterprise, of Ruthven, so called from the name of a house belonging to the Earl of Gowrie, where the young monarch was seized and detained a prisoner. While in the hands of the bold persons who had planned this extraordinary measure, he was compelled to issue a proclamation, approving their patriotic zeal in rendering so signal a service to their country, and condemning to exile the two friends whose injudicious councils he was accused of having too implicitly followed.

But the insurgent nobles, apprehensive of remoter consequences, were more desirous to have the approbation of the popular party in the Church, than of the royal captive, who had ceased to be a free agent. With this view they proceeded to Edinburgh, where the General Assembly was about to convene; gratified the people by recalling Dury to his charge in the city; and encouraged the triumph of the multitude, who went up the streets singing the 124th Psalm, "Now Israel may say," &c. Whatever were the motives which induced Mar, Gowrie, and the other conspirators to deprive their King of personal liberty, the reason that they chiefly urged on the attention of the clergy, was regard for religion, the success of which they professed to hold above every other consideration. In return, they requested the Assembly to pass an Act, declaring their "good liking" of the exploit at Ruthven, and to ordain "all the pastors and ministers within the realm, to publish, in their

particular churches, the causes and grounds moving them to the said enterprise ; exhorting all noblemen, barons, and other faithful subjects to give their best concurrence and assistance thereto." The zeal of the brethren, which fully responded to the anxiety of the confederates, led them to declare, that the latter " had done good and acceptable service to God, their sovereign, and native country ;" adding, that " the prosecution thereof will be agreeable to all who fear God, and tender the preservation of the King's person, and prosperous state of the realm<sup>1</sup>."

In this instance, as in many others, the Church was converted into a tool, to serve the purpose of crafty and ambitious peers, who, in their turn, humbled themselves to act as the instruments of Queen Elizabeth. This princess, with great skill and no small duplicity, had managed to govern Scotland during the administration of the Four Regents, by exciting the hopes of the aspiring, or by gratifying the cupidity of the more needy and avaricious among the nobles. But James, as he approached the years of manhood, manifested the desire of wielding an independent sceptre ; an object which he was perhaps encouraged to prosecute by the two young men whom he had admitted to his intimacy. The Queen of England saw the danger of this change of politics, and more especially of a renewed intercourse between the Scots and the King of France, at a time when

<sup>1</sup> " This act of the date of the 13th October, 1582, was published in all the churches of the realm, to the offence of many good men, who were grieved to see a bad cause thus coloured and defended." Spotswood, p. 323.

the principal Catholic powers of the continent were meditating an attack on her life and crown. It has therefore been supposed by the greater number of historians, that she suggested the expedient adopted by the Earl of Gowrie, in order to replace the Scottish government more directly under her control.

Hence it is manifest, that the Raid of Ruthven had its origin in such political considerations as could only affect the interests of evangelical truth through the medium of various contingencies. The benefit to the Church was therefore very uncertain, while the evil, on the other hand, was obvious and unavoidable. The approbation bestowed by the Assembly on an act of high treason, could not fail to irritate the mind of James ; while the commission given to the ministers to recommend it to the consciences of the people throughout the whole nation, must have led him to suspect that the clergy of the new model were not only unfriendly to his person, but hostile to the existence of a regular monarchy. The assault at Ruthven, accordingly, as might have been expected, afforded, at no distant period, a topic of the most violent discussion, both in the pulpit and the council ; the ministers adhering to the decision of their supreme court and calling it an “ acceptable service,” while the King prosecuted them as rebels, and drove them from their congregations.

During the detention of the sovereign in the mild, though vigilant, keeping of his captors, the Church made considerable progress in establishing the presbyterian polity. At a meeting of the Estates, held for the purpose of obtaining an act of indemnity in favour of the rebellious lords, a number of articles

were framed, the preamble to which claimed for the preachers powers almost as ample as those which had been so severely condemned when exercised by the Popish clergy. The Assembly requested, that, as the jurisdiction of the Church was granted by God the Father, through the Mediator, Jesus Christ, only to the ministers of his word, the Acts of Parliament relating to the Church should be so enlarged, that none of whatever degree should be entitled to place or displace them without the consent of the Church, to stop their mouths, put them to silence, take upon them the judgment of doctrine, or hinder and disannul ecclesiastical censures.

Instead of hazarding any remarks on a proposal so arrogant and unreasonable, made at a period, too, when the King was condemned to act as a puppet in the hands of a faction, we quote the words of a presbyterian author :—" Had this been granted by the legislature, government would have rested upon the most insecure foundation ; its acts might have been vilified where it was impossible to defend them ; the sovereign himself might, with impunity, have been reviled and held up to the detestation of his subjects ; while domestic comfort, and the inestimable blessing of a fair reputation, might have been invaded or destroyed by men rendered intolerable by the protection which they had secured <sup>1</sup>."

In truth, the civil and ecclesiastical authorities were now completely arrayed against each other ; the former striving to check the current of innova-

<sup>1</sup> Hook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. i. p. 359

tion, while the latter seized every opportunity to advance their pretensions, and to secure the ground they had already gained. Nor were occasions long wanting to rouse the animosity which subsisted between the two parties. For example, when the French ambassadors, who were sent to inquire into the circumstances which had led to the captivity of James, arrived in the Scottish capital, the King entreated the ministers to refrain, in their discourses addressed to the people, from insulting the illustrious strangers. Instead of promising to comply with this very reasonable request, the preachers told his Majesty that they would be guided by their sense of duty ; at the same time admonishing himself to avoid the contagion of evil society, in the persons of popish emissaries.

(1583.) Before the departure of La Motte, one of these envoys, the King desired the magistrates of Edinburgh to give him an entertainment, with the view of confirming the amity which had been so long cherished between the two nations. The clergy condemned this act of courtesy, and enjoined the civic rulers to refuse obedience to their sovereign. Finding, however, that the banquet, was to take place, they appointed a solemn fast to be kept on the day named for the feast ; calling upon the people to attend divine worship, and to humble themselves before God for the sinful compliance of their governors ; and denouncing in their sermons, the great wickedness of entertaining Roman Catholics, the murderers of the saints. It is said that the ambassadors were much displeased with the opprobrious language applied to their country and religion ; but

perceiving that the King's authority could not restrain the liberty which the preachers were wont to assume, they made no complaint <sup>1</sup>.

The necessity of emancipating the civil power from the officious and tyrannical despotism of the pulpit, now appeared in a stronger light than ever. Several of the ministers were accordingly summoned before the Council, charged with seditious harangues pronounced in open church, and calculated to disturb the public peace. Among these was Andrew Melville, who, after an attempt to vindicate the language he had employed, denied the competency of the tribunal at which he had been sisted, to decide respecting his doctrines. He maintained that "what was spoken in the pulpit ought to be tried and judged by the presbytery; and that neither the King nor Council might, in the first instance, meddle therewith, though the speeches were treasonable." Such principles, utterly inconsistent with all the maxims which ought to regulate criminal jurisprudence, and protect the character of private individuals as well as the dignity of government, could not possibly be tolerated. Melville, perceiving that his judges were determined to act with firmness, broke out into the most indecent warmth, telling the sovereign to his face that *he perverted the laws both of God and man*: "which irreverent words," says Spotswood, "proceeding from

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 324. Baillie, in his "Historical Vindication," p. 50, makes an unsuccessful attempt to shew that the entertainment was suggested by the French merchants, not by the King; and that the fast, or "abstinence," as he calls it, was enjoined not by the ministers, but by the magistrates and congregational elderships—a subterfuge unworthy of the learned Principal.



a divine, in whom moderation and humility should chiefly have appeared, did greatly offend the Council." To escape confinement, he fled to Berwick, whither he carried with him the regrets and attachment of the popular party, who justly esteemed him as their most accomplished champion, and one of the most resolute enemies of the court.

(1584.) Availing themselves of an interval comparatively tranquil, the legislature enacted some statutes for the better regulation of the church. The authority of the King over all persons, and in all causes, was confirmed. The punishment of treason was declared against those who should decline the jurisdiction of his Majesty and Council. The same penalty was provided in the case of such persons as should impugn the authority of the three Estates, or conspire for the diminution of their respective powers. Another act prohibited all jurisdictions and judicatures, spiritual or temporal, which were not approved by the sovereign and parliament. An ordinance was likewise passed, forbidding, under severe pains, all slandering of the King and his Council, whether in sermons, declamations, or speeches. As the royal parents and progenitors are also mentioned in this clause, it has been inferred that James had in view such of the works of the celebrated Buchanan as reflect injuriously on the house of Stuart, and more especially on the unhappy Mary, who was still detained a prisoner in the strong holds of Elizabeth.

Against these statutes the ministers made a public protest at the cross of Edinburgh; and, having taken this step, which placed them in direct collision with the executive government, they sought safety in

flight. A variety of communications passed between the exiled pastors and their flocks, defending their own conduct, and impeaching that of the King; which productions were assisted by a multitude of "pamphlets, defamatory libels, and scurril poems, which daily came forth against the court and the rulers of it." As his Majesty was never slow in appealing to the judgment of his people through the medium of the press, he published a proclamation in which he assigned reasons for the late enactments in parliament. In particular, he specified the approval given by the Assembly of the violence committed upon him at Ruthven; the declinature by Melville of the authority of the King and Council; the fast imposed on the citizens of Edinburgh at the time when the French ambassadors were entertained; general fasts ordered throughout the realm without his Majesty's knowledge; the usurping of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by a number of ministers and gentlemen; the alteration of the laws at their pleasure; and various other abuses of a similar nature<sup>1</sup>.

(1585.) The lords implicated in the affair of

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 333. It would appear, that the statutes passed in the Parliament of 1584, however offensive to the more ardent among the ministers, had obtained the approbation of a considerable number of their body, who were more disposed for peace. Spotswood relates (p. 347), "that a motion was made in the Assembly (1586), for censuring the ministers that had allowed the acts concluded in the Parliament, 1584, by their subscriptions: but they were found to be so many as it was feared the urging thereof would breed a schism and division in the Church; wherefore, after some altercation, the matter was left, and all the ministers exhorted to judge charitably one of another, notwithstanding their diversity of opinions."

Ruthven, having refused to acknowledge their fault, had found it necessary to take refuge in the dominions of Elizabeth. In the summer of this year they resolved to return home, supported by such a military force as would compel the King to reinstate them in their properties and titles. James, who had been beguiled by the arts of Wotton, a dexterous negociator despatched to Scotland for the purpose, was quite unprepared for so formidable an inroad on the part of his rebellious subjects. Finding himself menaced by a considerable army, already encamped round the walls of Stirling, where he at that time resided, he yielded to terms of accommodation; consenting to extend his favour to the leaders of this enterprize, and to remove from his presence the hated Earl of Arran, who, in their opinion, had held the reins of government with too firm a hand<sup>1</sup>.

The ministers, who had thought proper to return in the train of the invading host, expected that the powerful influence of the victorious lords would be so successfully exerted in their behalf as to obtain a repeal of the obnoxious statutes passed in the preceding year; but they were again disappointed. The King, irritated by the invectives poured upon his person and government, resolutely opposed all concessions; and even procured an act of parliament awarding the penalty of death against all who, by misrepresenting his proceedings and slandering his official servants, should create any breach of confidence between the sovereign and his people. It is

<sup>1</sup> Melvil's Memoirs. Crawford's Lives, p. 139. Cambden's Annals, p. 377.

admitted, on every hand, that this attempt on the part of James to abridge the privilege claimed by the ministers of animadverting on political measures, shewed a laudable concern for the happiness of the kingdom as well as for the prerogatives of the crown. It is farther acknowledged, that the plea on which they maintained that all ecclesiastical matters, and every thing in the most distant degree relating to them, should not fall under the cognizance of the civil power, till the opinion of the church had been delivered, was inconsistent with the existence of a regular administration. The direct tendency of it was to invest men, whose jurisdiction was not defined, with the most alarming control over the King and the legislature ; while the practice of stirring up the multitude by inflammatory harangues from the place which should have been consecrated to moral and religious instruction, was a gross abuse of their office ; converting what was intended to disseminate benevolence and charity, into a system of libel and detraction <sup>1</sup>.

Provoked by the indifference of the lords, who had promised to procure a repeal of the offensive statutes, and by the firmness of the monarch, who refused to yield to their solicitations, some of the more violent

<sup>1</sup> Cook i. p. 392. On several occasions the King made trial of the mode of redress to which the church meant to restrict him. For example, in the case of Gibson, who denounced him as a persecutor, and predicted that he should be the last of his race, he demanded satisfaction from the Assembly ; but that court was either too weak or too dishonest to bring the culprit to an acknowledgment of his offence. *Spotswood*, pp. 307, 308.

preachers renewed their licentious attacks from the pulpit. One of them directed his railing against the King in person ; while another fearlessly assumed the awful prerogative of divine justice, and pronounced a curse on James, who, he declared, would die childless, and be the last of his race <sup>1</sup>.

(1586.) But all the ministers were neither so intemperate nor seditious. The more respectable of that body became desirous to meet the views of the King, who was eager to perpetuate the prelacy established at the Reformation, and which had been somewhat modified by the Agreement at Leith ; justly regarding the principles maintained by the leaders of the popular party, as quite subversive of all civil government. These last insisted on the right of preaching what doctrine they pleased—a right which no wise ruler will hastily call in question—but under the head of *doctrine* they included personal remonstrance, and invective, scurrilous reproach, and even the most frightful imprecations. James proposed a conference between some members of his Council and several of the calmest and most moderate of the clergy, who, it was hoped, might agree upon such

<sup>1</sup> “ James Gibson, at that time minister of Pencaitland, fell out in the like impertinent railing, saying that Captain James, (Earl of Arran,) with his lady Jesabel, and William Stewart, (meaning the Colonel,) were taken to be the persecutors of the church ; but now it was seen to be the King himself, against whom he denounced the curse that fell on Jeroboam, that he should die childless, and be the last of his race. This man was called before the Council, confessed the speeches, and proudly maintained the same, for which he was committed.” Spotswood, p. 343.

articles as would prove the basis of solid and permanent arrangements <sup>1</sup>.

At an Assembly, held on the 10th of May, the result of their deliberations was submitted to the judgment of the church. It was concluded, with little opposition, that the title of Bishop should be retained ; though it was argued by the supporters of parity that, in their capacity of congregational pastors, the prelates should be subject, so far as life and doctrine were concerned, to the judgment of presbyteries and synods. The commissioners for the King would not give their consent to that proposition ; and it was at length determined, that the Bishops and others having power to visit churches, should be only subject to trial by the General Assembly, till farther order was taken : and also that, where Bishops and such visitors were resident, they should preside in the meetings of presbyteries and synods <sup>2</sup>.

By these proceedings the cause of order gained a temporary advantage ; and as the majority of the Assembly were favourable to pacific measures, there appeared some reason to hope that the tranquillity of the church might be preserved. But the daily experience of human affairs supplies ample proof that a minority, otherwise contemptible, often achieves,

<sup>1</sup> As a proof of the virulent animosity which prevailed, it may be sufficient to refer to the furious conduct of Andrew Melville, in the synod of Fife, where he procured the excommunication of the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, contrary to law and form. The retaliation made by a cousin of the primate was neither wise nor dignified. Spotswood, p. 345.

<sup>2</sup> Spotswood, p. 347. Calderwood, p. 210. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 352.

by perseverance, violence, and bold misrepresentation, a victory over the most venerated institutions, when only feebly supported by the wishes of the good and the wise. A small party at this meeting, unable to oppose its resolutions, manifested a spirit extremely hostile to the concessions which it sanctioned. Melville, who had signalized his triumph over the primate Adamson, by delivering him up to Satan, was so enraged to find this sentence reversed, that he protested against the decision of the supreme court ; insisting that the Archbishop should be left under the full disgrace and terror of excommunication, until he should give satisfactory proofs of his repentance.

Spotswood relates that one of the officers of state, perceiving the King so vexed with the affairs of the church, and the ministers so refractory and unwilling to be ruled, advised him to leave them to their own courses ; saying that “ in a short time they would become so intolerable, as the people would chase them forth of the country.”—“ True,” replied the King, “ if I were purposed to undo the church and religion, I should think your counsel not ill ; but my mind is to maintain both, therefore can I not suffer them to run into these disorders that will make religion to be despised <sup>1</sup>.”

(1587.) The stream of ecclesiastical affairs moved on for a time with some degree of external quietness, though deeply moved and disturbed in the more hidden parts of its current. The resolution to put to death Mary, Queen of Scots, excited in the north

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 347.



a variety of feelings, according to the principles which animated the different factions. When James found that all his efforts to save the life of his mother had failed, he gave orders to the ministers to remember her in their public prayers. With this pious and affectionate injunction they, with only one exception, refused to comply, though his Majesty asked no more of them than to entreat "that it might please God to illuminate her with the light of his truth, and save her from the apparent danger wherein she was cast." The King, greatly displeased and disappointed at such conduct, so utterly unbecoming in Christian ministers, appointed a special day for offering up solemn prayer in her behalf, and desired the Archbishop of St. Andrew's to repair to Edinburgh, for the purpose of officiating in one of the churches. But the clergy, who had again resolved to defeat the intention of their sovereign, induced Cowper, one of their own number, to occupy the pulpit before the primate could make his appearance. The King, coming at the usual hour, and seeing the intruder, called to him from his seat, and said, "Master John, that place was destined for another; but since you are there, if you will obey the charge that is given, and remember my mother in your prayers, you shall go on." With the profoundest hypocrisy and dissimulation, the preacher, who had already determined how to act, and had indeed, usurped the chair of public instruction, in order to gratify the malignant passions of his brethren, replied, "that he would speak as the Spirit of God should direct him." Being compelled to descend, he burst out into the most violent reproaches, saying, "This day will be a wit-

ness against the King in the great day of the Lord ;” and concluded by denouncing a woe on the inhabitants of Edinburgh, whose moderation, and sympathy with the feelings of their afflicted prince, exhibited a striking contrast to this indecent clamour. A slight commotion ensued among the people ; but being induced to listen to the discourse of the archbishop, who is said to have been a very powerful preacher, they were so deeply affected by his eloquent appeal on the duty of praying for all men, that they freely blamed the unchristian violence of their ministers. “ They grieved sore,” says Spotswood, “ to see their teachers so far overtaken, and condemned their obstinacy in that point <sup>1</sup>.”

A parliament which met this year rendered itself memorable by the enactment of two statutes, which had a great effect on the interests of the church. On pretence of relieving the country from taxation, and of enabling the sovereign to support the dignity of his office in a becoming manner, the remaining patrimony of the ecclesiastical estate was annexed to the crown. The King was induced to believe that there would be still reserved an ample income, arising from tithes, houses, and grounds, for the maintenance of the prelacy ; while to such of the ministers as sought the subversion of episcopacy, it was whispered that this was the only way to undo the bishops, for as there would be no livings to support them, none would be found to accept the office. The alienations too, formerly made, were, on this occasion, confirmed

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, p. 214. Spotswood, p. 354. Row, MS. Hist. p. 36.

by the legislature. James soon discovered the real motive which had influenced his needy and unprincipled courtiers. Priors and abbots, converted into temporal lords, importuned him for the lands which had belonged to their respective titles ; and he had the mortification to see the spiritual corporations completely robbed, while his own poverty was very little relieved. The statute of Annexation, he accordingly described as “ a vile and pernicious act ; ” and, in the *Basilicon Doron*, he recommends to the prince, his son, to annul it, whenever it might be in his power. The ministers, too, perceived themselves deluded, and began, when it was too late, to condemn the course which had been pursued by their pretended friends <sup>1</sup>.

The object of the second measure referred to was the return to parliament of the lesser barons, who, by a statute passed in a former reign, had been exempted from the burden of attendance, on condition of their sending representatives to the occasional meetings of the states. Regardless of the privilege which they enjoyed, these royal tenants so seldom presented themselves that their right had fallen into abeyance. James, finding some counterpoise necessary to balance the exorbitant power of the nobles, resolved to call into life the ancient principles of the constitution which had been so long dormant, and to give a voice once more to the members for counties, or, as they were then called, the commissioners of shires. The lords clearly perceived the tendency of this regulation, and opposed themselves to its enact-

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 365. Basilicon Doron, p. 43.

ment. But the king persevered till he procured for it the sanction of the legislature; not anticipating, perhaps, that, while he was withdrawing strength from one body of men, whose interests could be easily made subservient to his own, he was putting into the hands of another the means of thwarting his government, beyond the reach of all ordinary control. The majority of the lesser barons, as might have been expected, was usually found on the side of the popular party.

(1588.) The confusions that prevailed in the church, and the unsettled state into which the minds of men were thrown, afforded an opportunity to the Roman Catholics of recommending their principles to the people in different parts of the kingdom. The zeal of the clergy, and of the protestant gentlemen to check the progress of this evil, was heartily encouraged by James, who, though aspersed from time to time, as a concealed papist, was in reality a sincere friend to the Reformation. The Assembly appointed a fast, their principal expedient in all difficulties; the reasons assigned for which diffuse some light on the condition of things, abroad as well as at home. They specify the universal conspiracy of the enemies of the gospel; the arrival of numerous jesuits and papists; the defection of the multitude from the truth; the conspiracy intended against it by great men, entertainers of jesuits and papists; the coldness of all; the ruin of the church's patrimony; and the prevalence of iniquity<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 386. Spotswood, p. 367. Calderwood, p. 219.

(1589.) The preparations in Spain for invading England had probably given an unwonted activity to the ardour of the Catholics, and may account, in some measure, for the agitations which, at that period, disturbed both sections of this island. Nor did the defeat of the armada altogether intimidate the adherents of Rome, who appear to have been still numerous in different parts of Scotland. On the contrary, animated by that desperate resolution which sometimes accompanies a falling cause, they took arms against the crown, and set at defiance all the menaces and proclamations by which his Majesty endeavoured to recall them to their duty. The violence of the papists contributed materially to the success of the protestant ministers. Pleased with their zeal, and anxious to secure the co-operation of the great body of the people, James began to lend a more favourable ear to their proposals ; and, could he have confided in their prudence and liberality, it is obvious that he would have readily sacrificed his attachment to episcopacy, which, it may be presumed, he at that time viewed rather as the means of securing peace and subordination, than as a form of polity instituted by the apostles. The quiet behaviour, too, of the preachers during his absence in Denmark, when engaged in his famous matrimonial expedition, increased the advantageous impression already made on his mind ; and, in truth, he was no longer disposed to refuse any thing except the complete establishment of their "Discipline," to which he still entertained some serious objections. He had repeatedly declared himself satisfied with the "Religion" taught by the ministers ; by which he probably meant both the

theological tenets and the method of worship introduced into their system. It was in the polity alone that he discovered defects, both as it applied to the political constitution of the country, and as it failed to secure the exercise of a suitable control over the professional conduct of the more fanatical preachers.

Hence there is less reason to be surprised at the celebrated speech he made in the Assembly held in the month of August 1590, and which he concluded in the following terms: "I praise God that I was born in such a time as in the time of the light of the gospel; to such a place as to be king of such a kirk, the sincerest kirk of the world. The kirk of Geneva keep Pasch and Yule. What have they for them? They have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an evil said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same: and I, forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly<sup>1</sup>."

(1590.) Availing themselves of this favourable disposition on the part of his majesty, the ministers urged him by petitions to procure a parliamentary sanction for the polity described in the Second Book

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, p. 256. Spotswood, p. 382. The latter historian gives the speech somewhat abridged; and, in fact, leaves out the portion quoted in the text. But though Calderwood is the only authority accessible to the common reader, and might, therefore be called in question, the conclusion of the address assigned to James, seems to bear internal marks of authenticity.

of Discipline, and to establish the jurisdiction of the church as exercised by presbyteries, synods and assemblies. The civil broils which, originating in disputes concerning articles of faith, had involved in sedition and bloodshed several noble families, necessarily occasioned a delay in the meeting of the states, and thereby postponed the fulfilment of their wishes. But their anxiety and perseverance suffered no diminution; nor did they, for a moment, relax in their hostility to the prelates, over whom they were about to enjoy a temporary triumph, and whose power they had, in fact, already transferred to their own tribunals.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews, who had become the object of their peculiar aversion, was now exposed to the full assault of their bitterest resentment. He had, by command of the king, solemnized the marriage of the Earl of Huntly, who, being a Roman Catholic, refused to sign the Confession of Faith; a qualification rather ungenerously demanded by the presbyterian clergy, before they would give their consent to the performance of the nuptial rites. For complying with the desire of his sovereign, the primate was declared by the Assembly to have forfeited his office; and this sentence was published in the most open manner throughout the whole of the kingdom. Adamson soon afterwards fell a victim to the two heavy calamities of want and disease. When confined to his bed by a mortal distemper, it was resolved that he should be visited by some of the brethren, who were instructed to require from him a recantation of his former principles, and a testimony in favour of the presbyterian polity. He replied



to their proposal that, in the condition in which he then was, he did not employ his mind with such thoughts, but assured them, generally, that he had never allowed the existence of any other bishop in the church, than the bishop or overseer mentioned by St. Paul; and to this he would willingly set his hand. Upon this acknowledgment, certain articles were drawn up, to which his subscription was obtained. But he was already so feeble that he could not hold a pen, and probably did not know the import of the declaration to which his name was appended. Among other things, he was made to say, that "the establishing of bishops had no warrant from the word of God, but is grounded upon the authority and invention of man, whereupon the primacy of the Pope, or anti-christ has arisen." The concessions thus extorted from the dying prelate were presented to the General Assembly, and soon afterwards published under the title of "Mr. Patrick Adamson's Recantation;" a measure which occasioned great uneasiness to the old man, and of which he complained bitterly as a grievous wrong inflicted upon him<sup>1</sup>.

At the same period, the presbytery of St. Andrew's became the scene of a dispute which reflected very

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 385. Calderwood, p. 259. Cook, i. p. 399. The remarks of the last named author on the cruel persecution of the aged primate, who was assailed by such heartless impurity while under the languor of approaching dissolution, do great honour to his candour and humanity.

The "Recantation of Patrick Adamson, some time pretended Bishop of St. Andrew's, directed to the Synod convened at St. Andrew's, April 8, 1591," is published in the Appendix to "Baillie's Historical Vindication."

little credit on the justice or impartiality of the popular ministers. Two candidates for a vacant church appeared in that judicatory, one of whom was patronised by Andrew Melville. Finding the votes go against him, this disciple of Beza retired with the minority to another chamber, and united their suffrages in favour of his friend, while the majority gave instructions that the object of their choice should be forthwith inducted into the charge. Both competitors were instituted by their respective factions on the same day, and each was declared the minister of the parish. When Melville was summoned to explain his conduct before a commission appointed for the special purpose, he maintained that, on certain occasions, votes should be weighed, not counted; insisting that his opponents had conspired to prefer a person not comparable in worth to him whom his own party had elected. The commissioners displaced both the young men, and nominated a third individual to the pastoral charge of the disputed kirk: "and thus," says Spotswood, "was that strife pacified which many held to be ominous; and that the government, which in the beginning did break forth into such schisms, could not long continue, for this every one noted, *that of all men none could worse endure parity, and loved more to command, than they who had introduced it into the church*<sup>1</sup>."

(1592.) At length, on the fifth of June, the parliament, which had been repeatedly prorogued, convened with the wonted formalities. The Assembly having

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p 385. Melville's maxim was *quod suffragia essent ponderanda, non numeranda*.

met during the preceding month, were prepared to present several petitions on behalf of the Church, the substance of which was as follows :

1. That the Acts of Parliament made in the year 1584, against the discipline of the Church and liberty thereof, should be abrogated and annulled, and a ratification granted of the discipline whereof they were then in practice.

2. That the Act of Annexation should be repealed, and restitution made of the Church's patrimony.

3. That the abbots, priors, and other prelates bearing the titles of churchmen, and giving voice for the Church, without any power and commission from the Church, should not be admitted, in time coming, to give voice in Parliament, or convene in their name.

4. That a solid order might be taken for purging the realm of idolatry and blood, wherewith it was miserably polluted<sup>1</sup>.

As to the last of these petitions, there was little difficulty ; the King being as desirous as the ministers to rid the land of popish emissaries, though, perhaps, with a more lenient hand, as he was decidedly averse to a severe execution of the penal laws. It was therefore agreed, that saying of mass, receiving of jesuits, seminary priests, and papists trafficking against the King's majesty and the religion presently professed, should be a just cause to infer the crime and pain of treason ; with this proviso, however, that if the said priests and jesuits would

<sup>1</sup> Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 415. Spotswood, p. 387. Calderwood, p. 267.

satisfy the prince and the church, the penalty should not be inflicted upon those who had received or concealed them.

But the first petition was the subject of a more protracted deliberation. On the one hand, the king was unwilling to repeal the Acts passed in 1584 for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, and to ratify the new Discipline although adopted by a large body in the church ; while, on the other hand, he was pressed by the urgency of his civil government, now assailed in various quarters by the most daring rebels. At a previous conference, if we may believe Wodrow, James did not conceal the unfavourable impression made on his mind by the principles and conduct of Knox, Buchanan, and the Regent Murray, nor disguise the apprehension which he entertained from the turbulent characters and undutiful proceedings of the younger clergy, whom it was equally difficult to conciliate or to restrain. But, yielding to circumstances, he promised to give them full satisfaction in regard to the Polity ; and, accordingly, a statute was framed by the Legislature, granting a legal sanction to the presbyterian form of administration, as defined in the Book of Discipline<sup>1</sup>.

There is no doubt that, in the parliament of 1592, the model of ecclesiastical rule, recommended by Andrew Melville and his coadjutors, was ratified by the states of the kingdom and received the royal assent. But this fact has not precluded all difference of opinion as to the extent in which presbyterianism, viewed as the form of an established church, was thereby

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, pp. 387, 388. Calderwood, p. 268.

incorporated with the constitution of the country. Various modifications of episcopacy had been thought worthy of a similar sanction; beginning with the original system of Superintendents, and proceeding to the scheme devised at Leith, and subsequently to the arrangement of 1586, by which Bishops were made permanent moderators of presbyteries and synods. The spirit of the times called for change, and even imposed the necessity of making experiments, in order to gratify the caprice or remove the fears of the several classes of the community. It is manifest, too, that during the whole of this tentative process, no method was regarded as complete, and no expedient was pronounced final. The divine right of neither polity was yet openly asserted, so far at least as to condemn the other as positively unlawful, or contrary to scripture. It is not, therefore, just to conclude, that the maxims of convenience and accommodation, which in reference to the church had guided the legislation of government during more than thirty years, were meant to be entirely laid aside in 1592. Nor ought the sovereign to be more severely blamed for listening to new counsels, or for having recourse to other expedients, after this recognition of the Discipline by parliament, than for deviating from the Leith Agreement, which possessed an equal sanction, or for abrogating the statutes of 1586, likewise ratified by the assembled states.

In this respect, justice has not usually been rendered to James. He is represented as having, in a solemn address to Heaven, in presence of the clergy and of their most devoted adherents, professed his veneration for the church as modelled by the presby-

terian reformers ; and hence it is said, that every action inconsistent with this appeal to the Almighty, must have sunk him in the estimation of men abhorring the looseness of impiety, and must have led them to regard him as a prince destitute of honour, whose promises or concessions, dictated by necessity, might the next moment be revoked or forgotten<sup>1</sup>.

The allusion on which this charge is founded, points to the speech, a part of which has been already quoted, wherein the king extols the sincerity or purity of the Scottish Kirk as compared with that of Geneva and of England. But even admitting the authenticity of this celebrated piece of declamation, it is manifest that his majesty, young as he was, did not commit himself on the point of church government. He praised the doctrines taught in his native communion, and the care with which every approach to Romish superstition had been avoided. As to the *polity*, however, he uniformly declared that, in his estimation, it was not free from many defects.

It is worthy of notice, too, that, although the Discipline was ratified, as having, in fact, been for some time introduced and made the rule by which ecclesiastical proceedings were conducted in several parts of the kingdom, there was still a spiritual estate, representing the clergy in parliament, and possessing a share of the power, rank, and patrimony which belonged to the established church. James would not consent to the petition of the ministers, when they solicited that the different orders of prelates might be deprived of their seats and votes in the legislature. Nor could

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Cook's observations on this subject, vol. i. p. 470.

he be prevailed upon to annul the Statute of Annexation, by which so large a portion of sacred property had been vested in the crown, and from whence the wants of the preachers might have been amply supplied. In short, the king limited his concessions to the very narrowest bounds ; and while he conferred rather an ungracious assent in favour of the presbyterian form, he seems to have reserved in his hands, the means of bestowing income and honour upon a more acceptable polity. Spotswood remarks that the act passed ; but “ in the most wary terms that could be devised.” As for the statute confirming his majesty’s royal power, the abrogation whereof was chiefly sought, it was only declared, “ that the said statute should be no ways prejudicial nor derogatory to the privilege that God hath given to the spiritual office-bearers in the church, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, collation or deprivation of ministers, or any such essential censures, grounded or having warrant in the word of God <sup>1</sup>.”

Thirty-two years had now passed since the First Book of Discipline was submitted to the convention which met at Edinburgh in 1560 ; and, during that period, the church, of which the elements had been dissevered and thrown loose, appeared oftener than once to assume the ancient form of a regulated prelacy. Had the expedient of dissent been known in those days, the more violent preachers would probably have seceded from the establishment. even

<sup>1</sup> P. 388. Calderwood, p. 270, who agrees verbatim with Spotswood.



when under the mild but inefficient sway of the Superintendents, and thereby afforded to the better experienced and temperate among the brethren an opportunity of strengthening its foundations and consolidating its structure. But, at that early period, respect for the unity of the Church prevented even the most refractory from attempting to create a new communion. They adopted the notion, which had descended to them on the current of ecclesiastical history, that the visible body of Christ could have only one form; or, in other words, that there could not be more than one Church; and, accordingly, when they were employed in setting up the reformed model with the one hand, they were busy tearing down the ancient fabric with the other. Proceeding on the same principle, they denominated themselves the "Universal Kirk;" and hence the title of the "Buik," which contains a digest of their acts of Assembly. No sooner had they obtained even the partial countenance of the civil government, than they declared that the Romish priests had ceased to be clergymen; that "they had neither power nor authority to minister the sacraments;" and were, consequently, liable to the punishment of those who counterfeited the seals of the Redeemer, that is, a painful death inflicted by the hands of the magistrate<sup>1</sup>.

Alarmed and disgusted by the tyranny of Rome, the early Reformers took refuge under the wings of the royal authority, and willingly recognized the King as the head of the Church, even so far as to regulate the main points of doctrine and discipline.

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 174.

Hence it became a leading maxim among them, that in all circumstances it belongs to the chief ruler to reform the ecclesiastical body ; a principle which was not only somewhat dangerous, considered in itself, but which proved also extremely inconvenient to their successors, at no remote period. In theory, they granted to the sovereign a special prerogative ; which, however, they were unwilling that he should employ in the actual administration of affairs. It was his duty, they maintained, to reform the Church ; but they insisted, at the same time, that his views of reformation must be restricted to their judgment of what was suitable and advantageous. From this source sprang many of the evils which afflicted Scotland under the Protestant monarchs of the Stuart race<sup>1</sup>.

The return of Melville from his residence abroad, marks the date at which the presbyterian party in the Scottish Church formed the intention of changing its government. Knox had given his consent to a modified episcopacy, as an arrangement which promised some advantages ; allowing the prelatical titles of former times to mix with the novel designations that had been invented to soothe the ears of the people. It must, however, remain a subject of conjecture, whether the vibrations of the reformed communion would have ultimately settled in the old hierarchy, or in the more popular discipline of Geneva ; a decision which it is perfectly obvious would have depended much more on the vigour of

the executive power, than on the strength of principle among churchmen on either side.

At an early stage of the Reformation, the opinions and usages of the Scottish Protestants displayed a remarkable coincidence with those of their brethren in England. Indeed, the historian Buchanan expressly mentions, that his countrymen subscribed to the religious rites and worship which were used in the south. But the protracted struggle with popery in the northern districts, embittered by the circumstance that it was the faith of the court, under Mary and her mother, gave rise in the minds of the people to an increased aversion towards every thing which resembled the Romish Church. They, accordingly, viewed with satisfaction not only the overthrow of magnificent cathedrals and of splendid abbeys, but also the complete prostration of the priesthood as a distinct order, and even the usurpation of their sacred office by laymen—persons who laid claim to no higher quality than the having in their mouths the “word of exhortation<sup>1</sup>.”

In all parts of Europe where the Reformation assumed a popular form, a marked encouragement was given to learning, even in the lowest ranks. Appealing to the understanding of their hearers, and to the written word of God, the teachers of the new faith recommended the introduction of elementary schools, where the people might not only be made acquainted with the principles of their belief, but also

<sup>2</sup> The words of Buchanan are, “*Religionis cultui et ritibus cum Anglis communibus subscripserunt.*”

supplied with the means of extending their knowledge on all points of controversy agitated between Catholics and Protestants. The progress made in this respect, in many parts of Germany, continued to do honour to the patriotic zeal of Luther and Melancthon.

Nor were the Scots less active than their continental neighbours in this important branch of religious statistics. In the form of policy drawn up by Knox, it is recommended that "care be had of the godly and virtuous education of youth;" for which purpose it was judged necessary, that "in every parish there should be a schoolmaster, such a one as is able at least to teach the grammar and the Latin tongue, where the town is of any reputation. But in country parts, where the people convene to doctrine only once a week, either the reader or the minister must take care of the youth, to instruct them in their rudiments, especially in the catechism of Geneva." It was provided, that in every notable town, chiefly in the town of the Superintendent, a college should be erected, wherein at least the arts of logic and rhetoric, with the tongues, should be taught by sufficient masters, for whom suitable stipends must be appointed. It is added, that the exercise of children in the Church, cannot but serve greatly to the instruction of the aged and unlearned. As preparatory to any professional study or pursuit, the young people were understood to have learned "the Commandments, the Articles of the Belief, the right form to pray unto God; the number, use, and effect of the sacraments; and to have been in-

structed touching the nature and offices of Jesus Christ; and other such points as without the knowledge of them, they neither deserve to be called Christians, nor ought to be admitted to the participation of the Lord's table<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 160.

## CHAPTER XI.

FROM 1592, TO THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF EPISCOPACY  
IN 1612.

*Country divided into factions—Bias of ministers towards insurrection—Feelings of the King—Papists exert themselves, and apply to Spain—Popish Earls excommunicated—They propose to satisfy the Church—But retract, and are deprived of estates and honours—Concessions of the ministers—Parity invaded by the Assembly—Re-action among Catholics—Lenity of the King to those condemned—Freedoms used by ministers—Principles of Andrew Melville—Outrageous conduct of Black—Firm conduct of James—Opposed by the Preachers—Riot at Edinburgh—Ministers attempt rebellion, but are obliged to retire—Undutiful behaviour of Bruce and Welsh—Parliament supports his Majesty—Improved conduct of the clergy—Consent to have representatives in Parliament—Opposition by Andrew Melville—Basilikon Doron—Approach towards Episcopacy—Remark of Dury—Tranquillity of the Church—Accession of the King to the throne of Elizabeth—Puritans—Assembly attempted at Aberdeen—Assembly of 1605—Punishment of ministers—Assembly at Perth—Act of Annexation repealed—Conference at London between the leaders of the presbyterian and episcopal parties—No good effect produced—Intemperance of Andrew Melville—He is detained in England, and sent to the Tower—Assembly—Permanent Moderators of Presbyteries appointed—Remark of the King—Injunction of Assembly relative to Moderators, opposed in some places—Episcopacy gradually introduced—Fears of Popery revived—Moderate conduct of Assembly—Precautions against Popery—Earl of Errol—Court of High Commission—Objections—Assembly at Glasgow—Episcopacy Established—Bad motives imputed to the Government—*

*Real cause of change in the sentiments of the clergy—Remarks—Three Bishops consecrated at London—Difficulties suggested, and how removed—The other Bishops consecrated in Scotland—Prelacy confirmed by the Legislature—Condition of the Church from 1592 to 1610—Part of two establishments existing—Remark of Burnet on character of Bishops—Conclusion.*

THE temporary settlement of ecclesiastical affairs, which has just been described, did not insure the internal tranquillity of the state. The country was divided by two powerful parties, whose views and interests were entirely incompatible, and who, in their turn, attempted to dictate to the civil government. The Roman Catholics, still numerous, especially in the northern districts, were decidedly opposed to the influence which directed the principal measures of the Scottish court. On the other hand, the Protestants, who now comprehended a majority of all ranks, as well as the great body of the people, regarded with a favourable eye the ascendancy of English counsels in the cabinet of their sovereign ; as being at once a guarantee for the permanence of their own system, and a security against the revival of the abjured creed, in either section of the island.

As the ministers naturally enlisted themselves on the side which professed the greatest favour to the Reformation, they were often induced to give their countenance to positive insurrection, and to palliate the most violent outrages. To gain their concurrence for any attempt upon the authority of the monarch, it was only necessary to avow hostility to the old religion, and an ardent attachment to the new Discipline. By advancing too eagerly in the path, thus insidiously presented to them, they alienated



the confidence of James, and drove him, in spite of some of his strongest prepossessions, to rely for support on such of the nobles as still adhered to the ancient faith, and who, as members of the Papal communion, could not give their consent to the scheme of policy which he had been compelled to pursue.

(1593.) About the period when the presbyterian model obtained the sanction of Parliament, the Catholics in different parts of Scotland, resolved to make an effort for the restoration of their Church, if not to direct authority, at least to a more liberal indulgence than it was permitted to enjoy. Imitating the conduct of the Protestants at the commencement of their career, they applied to Spain for men and money; hoping that Philip, in this case, would act the part which had been performed for the Scottish dissentients by Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Elizabeth. A correspondence was accordingly detected, which implicated several men of rank, and excited, in no ordinary degree, the apprehensions of the reformed clergy. Regardless, as usual, of the limits which separate civil from ecclesiastical authority, they threw into prison certain suspected individuals, and solicited the King, with the utmost eagerness, to execute the laws against Romish priests, jesuits, and all who received them into their houses. His Majesty issued a proclamation, denouncing all persons, lay and clerical, who had induced so many of his subjects to apostatise from the religion in which they had been instructed, and even to enter into a treasonable conspiracy for the ruin and conquest of his ancient kingdom. He made known, at the same time, his firm resolution to spare none who should

be found guilty of this heinous offence; and concluded by entreating his faithful people to implore the mercy of God in behalf of themselves, their wives, and their children.

Against the principal conspirators, the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol, the royal indignation glowed at first with great intensity. These noblemen were declared rebels; their castles were seized, and their lands ravaged; but James, either dissatisfied with the evidence on which they were accused, or unwilling, for other reasons, to have recourse to the last extremity, would not give his consent to a capital punishment. The Synod of Fife, whose zeal was never allowed to slumber, irritated by the slackness of the sovereign, proceeded to wield against the offenders the only arms which clergymen were permitted to employ. After expressing their suspicions in regard to the sincerity of the King, and declaring their resolution to sacrifice their lives, rather than suffer the land to be polluted with idolatry, they proceeded to excommunicate the three earls, and all who supported them. The powerful objection, that the parties on whom this severe doom was passed, neither lived within the bounds of their jurisdiction, nor had been summoned to their bar, was overruled, and the sentence promulgated throughout the nation.

The lords, hearing of this irregular and tyrannical procedure, took an opportunity of presenting themselves to the King, when on a journey towards the borders; and, falling on their knees, implored of his majesty that they might have the benefit of a regular trial and not be condemned unheard. To this request a favourable answer was returned. In

the course of the following month, a convention of the estates was summoned to meet at Linlithgow, when a commission was given to the chancellor and several other distinguished persons, to examine into the accusations brought against the popish earls, and to listen to the defences which they should think proper to make. Six ministers were also named, who were requested to aid the commissioners with their advice whenever it might be required.

But the judicial investigation was precluded by an offer on the part of the accused, to satisfy the church and the King. An act, having all the weight of legislative authority, was passed, providing, among other things, that "such as have not embraced the true religion, or who have made defection from it, should conform before the first day of next February ; or if any of them, from scruples of conscience, should feel difficulty in so doing, they should, with permission of his Majesty, depart from the realm to such parts beyond sea as he should appoint, and not return till they were resolved to embrace the truth." In respect to the three noblemen principally concerned in this enactment, it was required that they should neither dispute, nor permit disputing at their tables, against the reformed creed, or in favour of popery ; but that they should retain in their houses a protestant minister, and be ready to hear what might resolve their doubts, and prepare them for subscribing the confession of faith on the day appointed.

This pacific measure failed to produce the effect contemplated by the humane mind of the King: the lords declared that they could not comply on such conditions ; and accordingly, in a parliament held the

following June, they were pronounced guilty of treason ; their armorial bearings were torn by a herald ; and they were deprived of all title to their estates and honours. More enraged than intimidated by this decision, Huntly and his friends made an appeal to arms, and even gained a considerable victory over the royal forces, led by the Earl of Argyle. Convinced, however, that a protracted struggle must occasion great misery to their retainers, and, at the same time, offend his majesty beyond the bounds of reconciliation, they relinquished all intention of prosecuting the war, and sought permission to leave the kingdom. The privilege of entering upon a voluntary exile was yielded to them, on the promise that they should not return without leave, nor engage, while abroad, in any project hostile to their native land.

In acknowledgment of the concession granted by James to the protestant clergy, he required that they should, on all occasions, so far respect his prerogative, reserved by the same parliament which sanctioned their discipline, as not to hold General Assemblies without his authority ; to prevent their preachers from agitating political questions in the pulpit ; and, more especially, to abstain from reflecting on himself and his privy council, before the multitude, who could not form a right judgment of the measures which he might deem it proper to adopt. They willingly agreed to abide by the Act so far as it regarded the power of summoning their great ecclesiastical judicatory ; but, in relation to the privilege exercised by them in their addresses to the people,

they expressed themselves with such a degree of reserve as to indicate their determination not to relinquish the right of remonstrance, and even of reproof, as applied to the civil government. They introduced a regulation prohibiting "any minister to utter in pulpit any rash or irreverent speeches against his Majesty and Council, or their proceedings; and to give their admonitions upon just and necessary causes, and in all fear, love, and reverence." This enactment, so far from being viewed by the King as a restraint on the undue freedoms of popular teachers, was esteemed rather as fitted to "minister an excuse to the unruly sort when they transgressed." Finding that they would not withdraw this obnoxious claim, but that his character and actions must still be exposed to the invectives of every pulpit orator who should feel dissatisfied with the management of affairs, James refused to listen to certain petitions, presented by the Assembly, for checking popery, and securing from farther plunder the revenue of the church.

Although the polity delineated in the Second Book of Discipline obtained not a legislative sanction so soon as the clergy had desired, it would appear that the country was still unprepared for its operation when the boon was actually granted. Only a very short experience was necessary to convince the leading members of the new establishment that they could not yet dispense with all the institutions of episcopacy. During the decline of the prelatical government, it became customary to elect once a year, from among the ministers, certain visitors, or commission-

ers, of districts, who were invested with powers nearly similar to those which the Bishops had enjoyed ; and it was not uncommon, to confer this appointment on some of these dignitaries themselves. But, when presbyteries were founded throughout the nation, this expedient was discontinued, as being inconsistent with the privilege of these ecclesiastical courts. The office, indeed, was at open variance with those principles of parity for which the clergy had so long contended : and yet, at an Assembly, held within a year after the new constitution was ratified, the function of Visitor was revived, and clothed, too, with an authority very closely resembling that which had been wrested from the former governors of the church, as one of the greatest corruptions of religion. The act was framed in the following terms :

“ Forasmuch as the visitation of presbyteries throughout the whole realm is thought very necessary, and from diverse Assemblies commissions have been given to that effect ; the necessity still existing, the church and commissioners present have given commission to certain brethren, to visit and try the life, doctrine, conversation, diligence, and fidelity of the pastors within the said presbyteries ; and also to ascertain whether there be any of the beneficed ministers, within the same, not residing, and who have no just cause of non-residence ; to proceed with the consent of presbyteries against all who have dilapidated their benefices, set tacks, and made other arrangements without the consent of the church ; and to try slanderous persons unmeet to serve in the

church, and unable or unqualified to teach and edify their hearers<sup>1</sup>."

(1594.) Had the line which separates ecclesiastical from civil jurisdiction been distinctly drawn, and carefully observed in the administration of affairs, it is very probable that the speculative aversion to prelatical rule, which had sunk into the minds of a certain portion of the Scottish people, would have been gradually removed by the perception of its practical advantages. But, in those days, the concerns of religion were so closely connected with political discussion, that all prospects of repose to the harassed church were blasted at the very moment when they seemed about to be realized. The dread of popery, which was not always without foundation, drove the clergy to violent measures, inconsistent at once with their spiritual calling, and with the Christian temper which it became them to exemplify. In giving vent to their indignation against the professors of the old creed, they hesitated not to implicate the King in the conspiracy which menaced the cause of evangelical truth; and thus, by constantly increasing the distance between his views and their supposed interests, they remained entire strangers to each

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, p. 286. Cook ii. p. 21. The latter author remarks: "This was certainly a wide step towards the restoration of Episcopal privileges. In this light it was regarded; and had the King, availing himself of it, studiously conciliated the ministers, he might have seen, what he was so desirous afterwards to introduce, an uniformity of ecclesiastical polity in both the British kingdoms, with the concurrence of the great majority of his people."



others motives, and laid open their minds to the approach of the most rancorous enmity.

(1595.) The severe measures which his Majesty had found it necessary to adopt against the popish lords, excited a strong reaction among the catholic body, abroad as well as at home. James, who was not blind to this danger, usually attempted to ward it off, by displaying towards that class of his subjects as much lenity as he was permitted to exercise. The adherents of the Romish communion in England, alarmed at the prospect of encountering a persecutor on the throne, which, in the course of nature, must soon be rendered vacant by the demise of the Queen, listened to proposals for turning the succession in a different line. The King of Spain, who himself was encouraged to cherish pretensions to the crown of Elizabeth, was understood to be levying forces in order to assist the malcontents in Britain, and even to entertain the project of an invasion, in order to wrest the sceptre from the hands of the two protestant sovereigns.

(1596.) The Scottish monarch, according to his narrow means, took suitable steps for the defence of his dominions; though these did not satisfy the impatience of the clergy, whose suspicions of his zeal began to revive. He had permitted the wives of the banished peers to live in their houses, and enjoy the rents of their estates; an indulgence which, though humane, afforded a plausible ground for charging him with an intention to render the act of forfeiture ineffectual, and thereby to support the avowed enemies of the protestant faith. The General Assembly urged him to appropriate the income of the popish

lords, as a fund for the maintenance of soldiers ; to use all precautions for preventing their return ; and to pursue with the utmost rigour every individual who was suspected to adhere to their cause. At the same time, with feelings somewhat more closely allied to their professional duties, they appointed a day for public fasting ; and solemnly renewed the covenant by which the nation had bound itself to uphold the reformed religion, and to defend it against all its enemies, whether foreign or domestic.

James, who was always averse to extreme counsels, would not consent to seize the revenue, on which the ladies of the exiled peers supported their families. Reflecting, too, that the noblemen themselves might prove more dangerous to his crown by living in Spain, where resentment, bigotry, and ambition would probably be employed to recommend the most desperate schemes, than by recovering a residence in their native land, where their motions could be watched, he was not sorry to hear that they had resolved to return secretly home, in the hope of obtaining permission to remain, on condition of giving security for their dutiful behaviour. A convention of the states, summoned on purpose to aid the King with their advice, concurred in his views, and approved of his intention to grant terms to the forfeited earls <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It appears that the King consulted also some of the ministers in regard to the propriety of bringing back the popish peers. Bruce, one of the Edinburgh clergy, acquiesced in the proposal to restore Angus and Errol, but objected to Huntly, whose conduct had given greater offence. James was desirous to receive all the three, more especially the last named, as he

The clergy, as might have been apprehended, were greatly enraged at this new proof of lenity or connivance, in regard to their enemies, the leaders of the Scottish Catholics. They immediately sounded the alarm to all the presbyteries in the country; warned them of the approaching danger; exhorted them to stir up their people to the defence of their just rights; commanded them to publish in their churches the sentence of excommunication pronounced on the popish lords; and enjoined them, without observing any of the usual formalities of trial, to subject to the same formidable censure all who were suspected of favouring the old religion. To meet still more effectually the pressing emergencies of the crisis, they constituted a Board at Edinburgh, under the designation of the Standing Council of the Church, whom they invested with the supreme authority, and instructed to watch over the general interests of the ecclesiastical body.

Among the first steps taken by this Council, so unconstitutionally appointed, was a summons issued to Seaton, the Lord President of the Court of Session, to appear before the synod of Lothian, and answer to the charge of having counselled the King to permit the return of Huntly and the other banished noblemen. The judges would not allow their head to

was connected with himself by marriage. "I see," said Bruce, "your resolution is to take Huntly into favour; which, if you do, I will oppose! And you shall choose whether you will lose Huntly or me; for both of us you cannot keep!" "This saucy reply," says Spotswood, "the King did never forget; and it was this which lost him the favour that he formerly carried with the King," p. 417.

comply with this arbitrary mandate ; but he, having voluntarily offered an explanation, satisfied the clerical rulers, that he was not particularly implicated in the measure which had created so much offence <sup>1</sup>.

James, still unwilling to push matters to an actual rupture, directed some members of his Privy Council to hold an interview with the more moderate among the ministers, to ascertain whether Huntly and his associates might not, upon making proper acknowledgments, be again received into the bosom of the church, and be exempted from any further penalties on account of their religious errors. The clergy replied that, though the gate of mercy stood always open to those who repented and returned from their wicked ways, yet as these noblemen had been guilty of idolatry, a crime deserving death both by the law of God and of man, the civil magistrate could not legally grant them a pardon ; and even were the Assembly to confer absolution, it would still be his duty to visit them with the severest punishment of a human tribunal. This decision, given by men who were esteemed the wisest and most pliant of their order, inspired the King with the greatest aversion and displeasure. He now clearly perceived that, until the pretensions of this aspiring body were checked, and the authority of law recognized by all classes of his subjects, the civil government could not be conducted either with credit or advantage <sup>2</sup>.

As an instance of the glaring insubordination into which the ministers had fallen, as well as of the

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 418. Heylin, p. 353. Calderwood, p. 332.

<sup>2</sup> Collier, ii. p. 649. Spotswood, p. 418.

strange freedoms which they were accustomed to use with their sovereign, the attention of the reader is directed to the following extract from the narrative of Calderwood, describing a conference which took place at Falkland. The commissioners, appointed by the last General Assembly, had convened in the neighbourhood, whence they sent four of their number to remonstrate with the King on the return of the Roman Catholic peers. James, at the opening of the interview, denounced their meeting as seditious, having been held without any warrant from the crown; and reminded them, at the same time, that they were wont to alarm the people with tidings of danger when there was not the slightest ground for alarm.

The younger Melville began to reply after his mild manner—"But Mr. Andrew taketh the speech from him, and howbeit the King was in anger, yet he uttered their commission, as from the mighty God; called the King *God's silly vassal*; and taking him by the sleeve, said this in effect: Sir, we will humbly reverence your Majesty always, namely, in public; but we have this occasion to be with your Majesty in private, and you are brought into extreme danger both of your life and crown, and with you the country and kirk of God is like to be wrecked, for not telling you the truth and giving you a faithful counsel. We must discharge our duty, or else be enemies to Christ and you. Therefore, Sir, as diverse times before, so now I must tell you, that there are two kings and two kingdoms. There is Christ and his kingdom, the kirk, whose subject King James the Sixth is, and of whose kingdom he is not a king, nor

a head, nor a lord, but a member : and they whom Christ hath called and commanded to watch over his kirk, and govern his spiritual kingdom, have sufficient authority and power from him so to do ; which no christian King should control nor discharge, but fortify and assist ; otherwise they are not faithful subjects to Christ. Sir, when you were in your swaddling clouts, Christ reigned freely in this land, in spite of all his enemies. His officers and ministers convened and assembled for ruling of his kirk, which was ever for your welfare also, when the same enemies were seeking your destruction ; and have been by their assemblies and meetings since terrible to these enemies, and most steedable (helpful) for you. Will you now, when there is more than necessity, challenge Christ's servants, your best and most faithful subjects, for their convening, and for the care they have of their duty to Christ and you, when you should rather commend and countenance them, as the godly kings and emperors did ? The wisdom of your Council, which is devilish and pernicious, is this, that you may be served by all sorts of men, to come to your purpose and grandeur, Jew and Gentile, Papist and Protestant. Because the ministers and protestants in Scotland are too strong and control the King, they must be weakened and brought low by stirring up a party against them ; and the King, being equal and indifferent, both shall be fain to flee to him ; so shall he be well settled. But, Sir, let God's wisdom be the only true wisdom ; this will prove mere and mad folly ; for his curse cannot but light upon it, so that in seeking both, you shall lose both : whereas in cleaving uprightly to God, his true

servants shall be your true friends ; and he shall compel the rest conterfeitingly and lyngly to serve you<sup>1</sup>."

In this address by the founder of Scottish presbytery, there are very distinct reasons given for the paramount authority claimed by the spiritual estate, as well as for the erection of the Ecclesiastical Council in the metropolis, specially appointed to watch and control the executive. Of the two kingdoms existing in Scotland, that assigned to the Redeemer was unquestionably greater and more worthy of respect than the one possessed by James the Sixth ; and hence, the ministers of Christ were entitled to a larger deference than the highest servants of an earthly monarch, who, in relation to divine matters, was himself a subject and a pupil. But Andrew Melville could hardly fail to be aware that, in employing the argument, by means of which he attempted to diminish the prerogative of his sovereign, he was using the very reasons which for centuries had been urged by the Roman Catholics to maintain the universal supremacy of the Pope. From Thomas-à-Becket down to Cardinal Beaton, no papal dignitary ever exacted obeisance from earthly rulers in his own right, but avowedly, and in all cases, as the representative of the Celestial Head of the church. The presbyterian Principal seized the same vantageground in the conference at Falkland. The kirk is the kingdom of Christ ; the ministers are his chosen servants, and entrusted with authority to govern that kingdom independently of every temporal potentate ; and,

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, p. 329.



therefore, their allegiance to the King must be measured by the extent of his submission to their theological injunctions.

The anger excited in the breast of the King by the unaccommodating temper of the clergy, was much inflamed when he was informed of the outrageous behaviour of Mr. David Black, one of the ministers of St. Andrews. This person discoursing to his audience, as was the custom at that period, on the state of the nation, asserted that the King had permitted the popish lords to return, and by that action had disclosed the treachery of his own heart. He added, that all kings were the devil's children ; that Satan had now the direction of the court ; that the Queen of England was an atheist ; that the judges were miscreants, and accepted bribes ; that the nobility were godless and degenerate ; and that the privy counsellors were cormorants and men of no religion. In his prayer for the Queen, he remarked, " we must pray for her for fashion's sake, but we have no cause, she will never do us good <sup>1</sup>."

The English ambassador, to whose ears the attack on his sovereign had been conveyed, lodged a formal complaint. Black was accordingly summoned before the privy council to answer for his seditious language ; and it is probable that had he appeared he would

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, p. 335. Spotswood, p. 419. Calderwood asserts in one of his treatises that "in all Kings naturally there is a hatred to Christ." Bishop Maxwell condemns the expression as unjust and seditious : but Principal Baillie, with that jesuitical refinement of which he shews too much in his *Historical Vindication*, asks, "What do you here intend to censure ? Are not all men naturally enemies to God ?" p. 56.

have been dismissed with a simple reprimand. But his brethren, considering the interests of their whole order as involved in his cause, and the immunities of the pulpit as exposed to the greatest hazard, advised him to decline the jurisdiction of the King and Council, as an incompetent tribunal. Glad of such an opportunity to display his zeal, he adopted the suggestion thus given; and presenting a paper containing what is called his declinature, he refused either to plead or to answer any question that was put to him. In order to add the greater weight to these proceedings, the Council of the Church, now openly opposed to the Privy Council, transmitted the said document to all the presbyteries throughout the kingdom, and commanded every minister to subscribe it, in testimony of his approbation. To the circular requiring this act of concurrence was prefixed this motto, "If we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him<sup>1</sup>."

Perceiving that the question, whether the clergy or he were to govern the country, must now be determined, James issued a proclamation, commanding the most turbulent of their number to leave the city; and proceeded to make preparations for the trial of Black in regular form. The accused, instead of yielding to the authority of law, renewed his plea of exemption from the judgment of a temporal court; insisting that he was not accountable for his conduct in the pulpit to any but his ecclesiastical superiors, who were the sole judges of the truth or falsehood in doctrine. He was, however, found guilty, and sen-

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 425. Collier, ii. p. 651.

tenced to retire, during his Majesty's pleasure, beyond the river Spey. The King, at the same time, gave orders to dissolve the Council of the Church, whose intemperate measures had contributed not a little to exasperate the multitude, and to encourage the petulance of their preachers.

He had, indeed, attempted to gain the ministers by concession and conciliation; promising to forgive Black and restore him to his congregation, provided he would acknowledge the imprudence with which he was charged. But this approach to lenity rendered them still more unreasonable in their demands. They desired that the royal proclamations and the decisions of the privy council, by which the liberties of the church had been recently invaded, should be recalled; declaring that, if this were not done, they would oppose the government "while they had breath." James then consented to rescind all the acts of council which had been lately passed, and to give security that the sentence against Black should not be held as a precedent; requiring only, in return, that they would inflict some punishment upon a man who had offended a foreign crown, and insulted almost every member of the royal family, the judges, and officers of state. To these terms, however, they would not accede; and each party, as might have been anticipated, retired from the negotiation more dissatisfied than before<sup>1</sup>.

(1596.) Matters were now fast hastening to a crisis. The clergy, agreeably to their usual practice whenever they were threatened with opposition,

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, p. 362. Wodrow's MSS. vol. i. Life of Bruce.

announced a day of public humiliation and prayer ; and, as confidence was already completely destroyed on both sides, each party, it would appear, had thought proper to adopt certain precautions against the stratagems of the other. These being much exaggerated, gave rise to the most alarming rumours. The King was told that the citizens were arming in defence of their preachers ; and the latter were assured that his Majesty was about to introduce all the horrors of popery, aided by a military force under the catholic lords. This fearful intelligence was communicated to the officiating minister, on the morning of the day named for the fast. He thought it his duty to inform the people of the danger which hung over their heads ; declaiming, in the most fervid language, against the treachery of the court, the baseness of some among the nobles, and the indifference of the nation at large ; and concluded by requesting such lords and gentlemen as were present to remain, after sermon, and assist the clergy with their advice.

At the meeting which ensued, after swearing to stand by the reformed church, the members drew up a petition to the King, craving a redress of grievances, and beseeching him to remove from his counsels such persons as were known to be enemies to the protestant religion. His Majesty, perfectly ignorant of what was passing, had repaired to the Court of Session, where he was wont to find amusement or instruction in the speeches of the lawyers. The abrupt manner in which the petitioners advanced seemed to alarm or offend him ; he gave a hasty answer, which drew from Lord Lindsay, notorious

for his bluntness, a warm reply. James, seeing the multitude press into the hall, began to apprehend that some violence was intended. He accordingly withdrew into another apartment, and commanded the doors to be shut <sup>1</sup>.

The deputies returned to the mixed audience, who were still in church, and to whom a minister, during the interval, had been reading from the Bible the edifying story of Haman. When they reported that the King had refused to listen to their petition, the congregation gave utterance to the most furious threatenings and execrations. Some called for their arms; some to bring out the wicked Haman; others cried, "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon;" and rushing out with irresistible impetuosity, they surrounded the building in which his majesty had sought shelter, thundering menaces against his own person, and demanding certain of his counsellors, whom they named, that they might tear them to pieces. Lord Lindsay had prepared them for the most frightful extremities; an appeal to force, and even the chances of a civil war. "Let us now stay together," he exclaimed, "advertise our friends and the favourers of religion, and take a decided part against our enemies, for it shall be either theirs or ours." But the magistrates, by a seasonable mixture of authority and argument, induced the enraged multitude to lay down their arms, and permit their sovereign to retire in safety to his palace. On no occasion was the life of James exposed to greater jeopardy; nor did he

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 364. Baillie's Historical Vindication, p. 68.

soon forget the seditious spirit in which the tumult originated<sup>1</sup>.

Still apprehensive of violence on the part of the clergy, the King gave orders to remove his household and the courts of justice to Linlithgow. The citizens of Edinburgh, conscious that their late conduct was extremely undutiful, expressed an eager desire to appease the royal resentment; but the ministers seemed more inclined to come to a trial of strength with his Majesty, hoping to carry their favourite measures by force or intimidation. They requested the noblemen and others, who had taken a share in the recent commotion, to remain in the capital, in defiance of a proclamation ordering them to repair to their respective residences. A bond was formed and signed by the more resolute of their adherents, having for its object the co-operation of all who were well-affected in religion. With the same view, they instructed their brethren in the country to convene, as if for the purpose of a General Assembly, and to bring with them all the gentlemen on whose zeal they could rely in their approaching struggle with the

<sup>1</sup> Baillie, in his *Vindication*, p. 67—71, endeavours, but not very successfully, to remove the worst features from this popular movement. "No tumult in the world," says he, "was ever more harmless in the effects, nor more innocent in the causes, if you consider all those who did openly act therein." He, however, omits the fact, so characteristic of the scene, that while the deputation waited on the King, a minister laboured to inflame the passions of the congregation, by reading the select passage already mentioned from the Book of Esther.

Dr. M'Cric, in his *Life of Andrew Melville*, vol. ii. p. 32, adopts the view suggested by Baillie, maintaining that the "affair does not even deserve the name of a riot."

government. Nor was this all ; but, sensible of the advantages which would result from the junction of some of the greater noblemen, they addressed, by letter, the Lord Hamilton, informing him that the people, moved by the word of God and provoked by the injuries offered to the church, had taken arms ; that many of the barons had determined to protect the protestant religion, which owed its establishment to the piety and valour of their ancestors ; that they wanted only a leader to unite them and to inspire them with vigour ; that his zeal for the good cause, no less than his noble birth, entitled him to that honour ; for which reasons they conjured him not to disappoint their wishes, nor to refuse to their suffering body the aid which they so much needed. Hamilton, however, instead of complying with their suggestions, sent their communication to the king. Provoked by this new insult, which bore a very near resemblance to treason, James commanded the magistrates of Edinburgh to apprehend their ministers, as manifest incendiaries and encouragers of rebellion. The latter, discovering that, by their open collision with the royal authority, they had forfeited the protection of the civic rulers, sought safety in a speedy retreat towards the English border<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 431. Calderwood, MS. vol. v. p. 126. Baillie's Vindication, p. 71. In the text, I have followed Robertson and Cook, writers whose feelings towards the presbyterian ministers would not have permitted to throw on their narrative the slightest colouring which does not belong to truth. Baillie is very disingenuous in his defence of the brethren. In allusion to the statement made by Spotswood, on which he elsewhere places the greatest reliance, he says, " Who dare trust a prelate's word when his design is to disgrace his enemy ? "

Nor did the preachers adopt this expedient until all others had failed. They found that the laity could not be made to keep pace with the ardent impetuosity of their zeal, which must soon have carried them into the miseries of a civil war. On the Sunday succeeding the tumult, Bruce, in his sermon, lamented "that there existed such weakness in many who heard him that they durst not so much as utter one word for God's glory and his good cause." He affirmed "that their enemies were thereby emboldened to pull the crown off Christ's head; that they were running as direct a course to the ruin of the country and of religion, as if they had combined with the Pope, the King of Spain, and the apostate papists within the realm." On the other hand, he represented his brethren, the ministers, as "the mouth of God," employed to expose this manifest usurpation upon his spiritual kingdom, and this encroachment upon their spiritual liberties.

Such a discourse could not be intended to assuage the passions of the congregation to whom it was addressed. But language still more intemperate was uttered from the pulpit in the same place before the service of the day was completed. John Welsh, the son-in-law of Knox, a man who was revered as a prophet, considered as admitted to the most intimate communion with the Almighty, and who has even been represented by his biographers as a worker of miracles, is said to have declared, in his sermon, "that the King was possessed with a devil; that one devil having been put out, seven had entered into its place; and that the subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand." He attempted to



confirm this dangerous position, by referring to the example, already become extremely trite, of "a father who, falling into a frenzy, might be taken by the children and servants of the family, and tied hand and foot from doing violence <sup>1</sup>."

(1597.) The success which attended the efforts of James, in repressing the mutinous spirit of the clergy, paved the way for other triumphs. The parliament declared the late insurrection to be high treason; ordained that every minister should subscribe a declaration of his submission to the royal authority in all matters civil and criminal; empowered magistrates to commit instantly any preacher who, in his sermons, should utter indecent reflections on the King's conduct; prohibited ecclesiastical judicatories from meeting without his Majesty's licence; and gave instructions that means should be used to discover and inflict condign punishment on the authors of the disturbance by which the city of Edinburgh had been disgraced.

As might have been presumed, the wiser and more moderate among the ministers, who lived at a distance from the capital, did not approve the conduct which has just been described. The higher classes among the laity, too, were already satisfied that the new scheme of Church government was not calculated to preserve order, during times so distracted as those

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 430. Alluding to a Life of Welsh, written by Wodrow, Dr. Cook remarks, that, from the whole narrative, laudatory as it is, "it is difficult not to draw the conclusion, that, in this good man, enthusiasm had reached the point of insanity, to which it so naturally tends."—*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 80.

in which they lived. Availing himself of this altered temper in the public mind, James laid before the General Assembly, convened at Perth, certain questions, the discussion of which might lead to such improvements in their polity, as would at once place their own interests on a firmer basis, and afford greater security to the civil administration. Nor did the clergy, on this occasion, disappoint the hopes of their sovereign. They consented to restrain the license with which some of their body were wont to descant on political matters, as well as the freedom they used in inveighing from the pulpit against particular individuals. They allowed that summary excommunications should be held unlawful; that the meeting of the General Assembly, without the King's authority, should be prohibited by a regular statute; and that the nomination of incumbents to charges in large towns, should be exercised by the Crown, with the consent of the congregations. Several points, however, were left for conference, and to be determined by certain clerical commissioners, who should be ready to meet when summoned by his Majesty.

The discipline of the Church occupied so much of the royal attention, that several conventions, ecclesiastical as well as civil, were held in the course of this year. James was extremely desirous that the clergy, as forming one of the essential parts of the national legislature, should be restored to their seats in Parliament. Accordingly, at a meeting of the States, which took place in the month of December, an act was passed, ordaining that such pastors and ministers as his Majesty should at any time please to invest with the office and dignity of a bishop, abbot,

or other prelate, should at all time hereafter have vote in Parliament, in the same way as any prelate was accustomed to have ; declaring that all bishoprics presently vacant, or which might afterwards become vacant, should be given by his Majesty to actual preachers and ministers, or to persons qualified to become such, and who should pledge themselves that they would enter upon the ministry.

(1598.) The General Assembly met at Dundee in March, and was attended by the King in person, who failed not to seize so favourable an opportunity for expatiating on his anxiety to promote the welfare of the Church. After a long debate, it was decided, as being necessary and expedient, that the ministers should be represented in Parliament. It was subsequently determined, that the number who were to enjoy the privilege of sitting and voting in the great council of the nation, should be limited, as formerly, to fifty-one, and that the choice should belong, partly to the sovereign, and partly to the Church. Commissioners were again appointed to deliberate with his Majesty and the divinity professors in the several universities, respecting the title and powers of the clerical members, and, more especially, to guard against any corruptions to which their new office might expose them.

After some discussion, it was resolved, that the Assembly should name six ministers for each vacant prelacy, from whom the King should select one as the Parliamentary representative ; and among the " Cautions" provided against abuse, it was specially enjoined, that no spiritual person should propose to the legislature, in the name of his brethren, any

thing for which he had not their warrant and direction. It was likewise stipulated, that all such individuals should be bound to give an account of their proceedings to every General Assembly, and to await the approbation of their constituents; submitting themselves to their judgment, without any appeal, under pain of infamy and excommunication. Nor were conditions omitted regarding their parochial duties, as the pastors of flocks, and their canonical submission to the synods and presbyteries of their respective districts<sup>1</sup>.

(1599.) The partizans of Melville were greatly displeased at these innovations, which it was obvious to less discerning eyes were inconsistent with the principles of their venerated Discipline. Advantage was accordingly taken of every circumstance to stir up the wrath and suspicions of the multitude, their chief allies in all pressing emergencies. An attempt was made by them to hold an Assembly at St. Andrew's, in defiance of the royal mandate; but they had the mortification to find that the seditious humour was for a season passed away, and that very few were disposed to join them in their hostility to the government. The publication of the Basilikon Doron, however, supplied, about this period, an opportunity, not to be neglected, for bringing popular odium on his Majesty. By means not all honourable to his character, Andrew Melville obtained a few extracts from this work, before it was put to press;

<sup>1</sup> For a minute account of all the transactions here alluded to, rather than described, the reader is referred to Spotswood's "History of the Church of Scotland," p. 434—455.

and, without being deterred by any of those considerations which condemn a breach of confidence, he laid them on the table of the Fife Synod, accompanied with some severe reflections on the King. The passage which gave most offence is the following:—“That parity amongst ministers was inconsistent with the existence of monarchy; that, without bishops, the three estates in Parliament could not be restored; and that the design of the presbyterian ministers was to establish a democracy<sup>1</sup>.”

(1600.) But, notwithstanding all the opposition and intrigues which had their origin at St. Andrew's, the General Assembly sanctioned the resolutions suggested at their former meetings, and recommended by their commissioners. It was ordained, that representatives of the clergy should be sent to Parliament; that this regulation should be notified by the ministers throughout the kingdom; and that none should speak against it. The title of Bishop, however, was not revived; and it was enacted, that the members elected by the spiritual estate should annually lay their commissions at the feet of the General Assembly; when they should either be continued in their office, or relieved from it, according as his Majesty and their constituents should see proper.

In this stage of the progress towards a modified episcopacy, it was resolved to nominate persons to the bishoprics that were void. Aberdeen and Argyle

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 456, says, the extracts were laid on the table by Mr. John Dikes, minister at Anstruther; and that they were procured by Melville from Sir James Semple, who had been employed by the King to transcribe his manuscript.

were already supplied with incumbents, both “ actual preachers.” But St. Andrew’s and Glasgow were in the hands of the Duke of Lennox ; Moray was possessed by the Lord Spinie ; and the see of Orkney, by the Earl of Orkney. Dunkeld, Brechin, and Dumblane had titulars ; while Galloway and the Isles were so dilapidated, as “ scarce they were remembered to have been.” In Ross and Caithness some provision was still left ; to the former of which was appointed Mr. David Lindesay, of Leith, and to the latter, Mr. George Gladstones, minister of St. Andrew’s. But as they could not find “ any settling” in their dioceses, they continued in their parochial cures<sup>1</sup>.

The revolution now effected may be distinctly traced to the violence of the clergy, instigated by Melville and his adherents, who, in number, though not in talent, formed a contemptible minority. Converts daily flocked to the side of the King, when they saw him positively insulted, loaded with groundless calumnies, and even exposed to the hazard of assassination. These circumstances confer an air of probability on the anecdote preserved by Spotswood, and already quoted, relative to Dury, who, as the supposed tool of Andrew Melville, made the motion for annulling the Agreement entered into at Leith. “ He wished earnestly,” says the primate, “ to have lived unto the meeting of the Assembly (1600), that he might have declared his mind touching the matters then in hand ; but when he perceived his sickness increasing, and that he could not continue

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 456.

so long, he entreated some brethren to visit him, and to shew the Assembly, as from him, that there was a necessity of restoring the ancient government of the Church, because of the unruliness of young ministers, that would not be advised by the elder sort, nor kept in order ; and since both the estate of the Church did require it, and that the King laboured to have the same received, he wished them to make no trouble, therefore, and to insist only with the King, that the best ministers, and of greatest experience, might be preferred to places<sup>1</sup>."

The decisive measures now adopted by the Church, were rewarded with the continuance of tranquillity during several years. Still haunted by the terror of popery, occasional acts were indeed passed for the repression of that formidable sect ; a line of policy which James found it proper to pursue, as well for the purpose of intimidating the Catholic leaders, as to convince the Protestants that he was determined to support the new establishment. When presiding at a meeting of the Assembly, held in the course of the present year, he elevated his hands to heaven, and solemnly vowed, that he would faithfully administer justice, defend religion, and withdraw his confidence from every individual who should endeavour to make him neglect the one, or injure the other<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 457.

<sup>2</sup> As James was sometimes suspected of a partiality for the Roman Catholic interest in Scotland, it seems due to his memory to publish the following letter, addressed to the Earl of Huntley :

" My Lord,—I am sure you consider, and do remember, how often I have incurred skaith and hazard for your cause, therefore,

(1604.) As the Scottish ministers were wont to identify the interests of the Reformation with their own peculiar notions as to discipline and ceremony, they allowed themselves to take umbrage at the treatment shown by James to the puritans of England. Whether the King, before his accession to the throne of Elizabeth, had excited in the latter body expectations which he afterwards found it impossible to gratify, cannot now be ascertained with any degree of exactness; but he was assuredly guilty of no hypocrisy when he declared his satisfaction with the ecclesiastical government which he found subsisting in his new dominions. In a speech which he pronounced at Hampton Court, he congratulated himself that, by Divine Providence, he had been at length brought into the land of promise, where religion was professed in its purity, and where he sat among grave, learned, and reverend men; not being now, as formerly, a king without state and to be short, resolve you either to satisfy the Church betwixt (this date), and the day that is appointed, without more delay; or else if your conscience be so kittle (squeamish), that it cannot permit you, make for another land betwixt and that day, where you may use freely your own conscience. Your wife and bairns shall in that case enjoy your living; but for yourself, look never to be a Scottish man again. Deceive not yourself to think, that by lingering of time your wife and your allies shall ever get you better conditions. And think not that I will suffer any professing a contrary religion to dwell in this land. If you obey me in this, you may once again be settled in a good estate, and be made able to do me service, which from my heart I could wish. The rest I remit to the bearer, whose directions you shall follow, if you wish your own well. Farewell.

“JAMES R.”

“From Dunfermline.”



honour, in a place whence order was banished, and where beardless boys braved him to his face.

Convinced that the peace of the northern Church could only be preserved by confining the ministers to their parochial duties, the King did not encourage frequent meetings of the General Assembly. As it belonged to the royal prerogative to fix the period for convoking that judicatory, as well as to prorogue and terminate its sittings, James exercised his power so far as to postpone the clerical convention till the following year. The reason assigned for this delay was very plausible. A Parliament was summoned to meet early in the season, to settle the conditions of a proposed union between the two kingdoms; and as several of the individuals who had a right to sit in the legislature, were also constituent members of the Assembly, a probable inconvenience was anticipated from their simultaneous meeting. On this point, however, in a very special manner, the authority of the Crown and the views of the popular clergy were at variance, and threatened a constant collision. Accordingly, in defiance of the royal prohibition, the commissioners from the presbytery of St. Andrew's repaired to Aberdeen, on the day to which the former Assembly had been adjourned; firmly resolved to renew its sittings, and to proceed to business, as the representatives of the national Church. Nor was it until they found they were not joined by any of their brethren, that they satisfied themselves with a protest, agreeably to legal form, and resumed their journey homewards<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Buik of Universal Kirk. Wodrow's MS. vol. i. folio. Life of Forbes.

(1605.) A similar occurrence, attended, however, with more serious consequences, took place in the same town, after the lapse of twelve months. Notice was given by the royal commissioner, that his Majesty had again prorogued the Assembly. But, notwithstanding this authoritative information, a few of the more determined among the ministers convened on the appointed day, and shewed the utmost resolution in prosecuting their measures, though repeatedly warned to desist, under pain of being declared guilty of treason. The whole number did not exceed nineteen; and one of their leaders, Mr. John Welsh, is acknowledged to have been partially insane, and therefore hardly accountable for his conduct. Besides, there is reason to suspect that, from weakness or duplicity, the Chancellor and the King's commissioner connived at the irregularities of these fervid divines, until they had actually trespassed the boundaries of law. The repetition of the offence, perhaps, might alone be thought sufficient to dictate the expediency of checking the factious spirit whence it had originated. Six of the offenders were accordingly condemned to imprisonment, in the first instance, and afterwards to expulsion from the British dominions. Pardon would have been extended to them all on the simple condition of acknowledging their guilt; but no reasoning could induce them either to confess their error, or to submit to the authority of the court before whom they were sisted. Urging the old plea, that they were responsible to their brethren only, they pertinaciously declined the jurisdiction of the civil tribunal. The latter, therefore, even if actuated by no higher

motive than a regard to consistency and respect for constitutional law, must have found themselves obliged to record the verdict of the jury. Thirteen who acknowledged their fault were dismissed, and allowed to resume their charges without molestation<sup>1</sup>.

(1606.) The Parliament, which met this year at Perth, passed several important acts for the stability of the Church. In particular, one statute defined and confirmed the royal prerogative, with the view of preventing the recurrence of such disputes as had arisen out of the meditated Assemblies at Aberdeen. Another, by repealing the Act of Annexation, restored to the bishoprics the temporalities of which they had been deprived ; it having become manifest that, owing to the want of a settled revenue, the prelates could not perform their duty either as ecclesiastics, or as members of the civil government. The title of the latter statute, being expressed in rather ambiguous terms, has led some writers into the error of conceiving that the spiritual estate was thereby placed on a new footing ; whereas it applied solely to the landed property and tithes whence their income was derived. Spotswood justly remarks, that the episcopal order, as one of the three estates of the kingdom, had neither been cast down, nor was intended to be overthrown by the legislature, even when the polity of the Second Book of Discipline was sanctioned, in the year 1592 ; and, accordingly, that the Bill, entitled “ The Restitution of the estate of Bishops ” provided exclusively for their

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 489, &c. Wodrow's *Life of Forbes*, p. 37, &c. Baillie's *Historical Vindication*, p. 55, &c.

rank and sustentation, as occupants of the ancient sees <sup>1</sup>.

The commotions which continued to disturb the Scottish Church, suggested to the King the propriety of holding a conference with the leading members of the two parties. For this purpose he summoned to London the Archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrew's, and the Bishops of Orkney, Galloway, and Dunkeld, to represent the episcopal interest; while, as advocates for the presbyterian cause, he named the two Melvilles and five others, than whom there were none better qualified, both by talent and courage, to support the tenets of the Genevan school, whether in doctrine or discipline.

To clear the ground for the amicable contest in which the Scottish champions were about to engage, James had provided that they should all go to church, and listen to a series of discourses on the several points at issue. The first who mounted the pulpit was Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, who undertook to prove, from Scripture and the fathers, the "superiority of Bishops to Presbyters, and also to set forth the inconveniences of parity in the Church." Dr. Buckridge, of Rochester, who appeared next in order, handled the "King's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical," to the satisfaction of the audience. It grieved the Scottish ministers, however, "to hear the Pope and presbytery so often equalled in their opposition to sovereign princes." The Bishop of Chichester, Dr. Andrews, had for his task to confirm the "power of monarchs in convocating Synods and

<sup>1</sup> History of the Church of Scotland, p. 496.

councils." Dr. King, of London, who displayed a somewhat singular taste in the choice of his text, discoursed on the office of presbyters, and "did prove lay elders to have no place nor office in the Church, and that the late device was without all warrant of precept or example, either in scripture or antiquity<sup>1</sup>."

But it does not appear that the eloquence of the four dignitaries was attended with the happy effects which his Majesty expected from it. He therefore addressed the Scottish presbyters on another subject, and required their opinion as to the conduct of the ministers who had been convicted for their mutinous behaviour at Aberdeen. In regard to a point on which the most cautious judgment might have been attended with hazard, they desired time for consideration; and, as the answers which they finally returned were not satisfactory, an order was issued to detain them in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. It would appear, that Melville and his party had prayed for their brethren in confinement, as for persons who were in trouble for the cause of God and religion; a practice which could not fail to increase the popular odium against the government, and to expose to interruption the peace of the whole kingdom. Nor is there any room for doubt that they had long acted the part of incendiaries; being always in the front rank when any measure was devised for opposing the personal wishes of the King, or for

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 497. Bishop King's text was, Canticles, chap. viii. v. 11. "Solomon had a vineyard at Baal-hamon," &c.

thwarting his designs relative to the affairs of the Church. But the means, apparently, adopted for bringing them to punishment, were unworthy of a great mind, as well as of an equitable ruler, and have therefore been severely condemned. With the exception of Andrew Melville and his nephew, however, they were all at length permitted to return to their native country; not more inclined, it is probable, than before their visit, to promote the intentions of his Majesty, in respect to his modifications of their ecclesiastical polity<sup>1</sup>.

The elder Melville, whose temper was seldom under controul, gave additional offence by his undutiful language, as well as by indulging his humour for satire at the expense of the English clergy and ritual. When summoned before the Council, as the author of a lampoon against the Church, he boldly acknowledged the verses laid to his charge, and even attempted to justify them as a lawful attack on a hated superstition. He then assailed Bancroft, the primate, in very opprobrious terms, denouncing him as the persecutor of God's faithful ministers; as the abettor of all the corruptions and vanities which adhered to the Anglican communion; and, in short, as the capital enemy of the reformed religion throughout all the nations of Europe. Yielding to the impulse of his passion, he laid hold of the archbishop's lawn sleeves, and shaking them violently, he called them Romish rags, and one of the marks of the beast. Spotswood, who was one of the deputation, says,

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, p. 542. Spotswood, p. 499.

that he "behaved insolently, and more like a madman than a divine<sup>1</sup>."

After remaining three years in the Tower, he was allowed to accept the divinity professorship at Sedan, where he spent the residue of his days, in impaired health and spirits. The Scottish primate, in recording his death, makes the following reflections, naturally suggested by the painful circumstances which clouded the last years of the turbulent but intrepid presbyter. "Whilst I am writing this, there cometh to my mind the hard and uncharitable dealing that he and his faction used towards Patrick, some time Archbishop of St. Andrew's, who, not content to have persecuted this worthy man in his life, made him, a long time after his death, the subject of their sermons; interpreting the miseries whereunto he was brought, to be the judgment of God inflicted upon him for with-

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 500. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 82. Heylin, p. 385. It is remarkable that Andrew Melville, little scrupulous as he was in the use of language, stood somewhat in awe of the English noblemen who attended the King at one of the conferences. Desirous to have free scope to his indignation against "God's sillie vassal," he moved that the meeting should be more private, and confined to Scotsmen; *fearing, it is said, that some unseemly words might escape them.* But this was denied; and they were warned to speak with that respect which became subjects. Spotswood, p. 498.

During the examination of one of his brethren by the Lord Advocate, Melville, in a great passion, said, that he followed the instructions of Mr. John Hamilton, his uncle, who had poisoned the north with his papistry, and that he was now himself become *κατήγορος τῶν ἀδελφῶν*. The Earl of Northampton asked what he meant by that speech? The King replied, "He calleth him the *mickle devil*."

standing their courses of discipline. If, now, one should take the like liberty, and say, that God, to whom the Bishop, at his dying, did commend his cause, had taken a revenge of him who was the chief instrument of his trouble, it might be as probably spoken, and with some more likelihood, than that which they blasted forth against the dead Bishop. But away with such rash and bold conceits! The love of God, either to causes or persons, is not to be measured by these external and outward accidents<sup>1</sup>."

Towards the end of the year the General Assembly met, with the approbation of the King, who was sincerely desirous to have the tranquillity of the Church established on a permanent basis. As a proof that the clergy, in general, viewed with a favourable eye the measures contemplated by his Majesty at this period, it is only necessary to mention, that of their number were convened, on the present occasion, no fewer than a hundred and thirty-six; while of noblemen and lesser barons, there were thirty-three. In a letter addressed to them, through his representative, the Earl of Dunbar, he lamented that, notwithstanding his efforts to root out

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 500. One cannot fail to contrast these liberal sentiments with certain remarks in Baillie's Vindication, who sees the Divine hand manifested in the most trifling occurrences, when they benefit his cause. A fire at Oxford, for example, which destroyed some pamphlets, is a "testimony given by the Lord for us against them." He acknowledges, too, that he was content with that part of his task which led him "to throw down to the dust of contempt and well-deserved disgrace, the *unhappy and infamous wretches*, Adamson, Spotswood, Maxwell, Balcanquall, and others!"



popery, and settle good order in the Church, he had been continually thwarted by the jealousies of a few perverse ministers, who, traducing his best actions, gave out among the people, that his sole object was to impede the liberty of the Gospel. Alluding to the failure of the late conference, he expressed a hope that the Assembly would agree upon such rules as should prevent like commotions for the future. In particular, he suggested to them, that one of the great causes of the misgovernment of the Church arose from the circumstance of young and inexperienced persons being often, in the mere rotation of office, placed at the head of ecclesiastical courts. To remedy this inconvenience, he recommended that there should be named, in every presbytery, a grave and godly person to take the charge of it, until the fire of dissension among the ministers should be quenched and done away. For the encouragement of these permanent moderators, and to enable them to give attendance to Church affairs, the King promised to allow an annual sum, according to the extent of their charge. It was specified at the same time, that wherever Bishops were resident, they should be invested with the superintendence of presbyteries and synods<sup>1</sup>.

These proposals were followed by some discussion, which appears, however, to have been amicably and moderately conducted. At the first statement, they seemed to import a considerable alteration in the discipline then established, and were not heard by many of the members without considerable appre-

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 500.

hension as to the power likely to accrue to the permanent moderators. But, upon a more minute examination of the scheme, it was almost unanimously admitted, that, with certain *Cautions* to be provided by the Assembly, much practical benefit might result from it, more especially in the unsettled condition in which they still found themselves placed. The measure was accordingly sanctioned by the great national judicatory; not more than four members entering their dissent.

The unanimity with which this expedient was adopted, confirms the opinion, expressed by the King, that many young men had found their way into the Church, who, although sufficiently qualified for most of the duties of a public teacher, were deficient both in the knowledge and prudence which are necessary in the Preses of an ecclesiastical court. Indeed, in the Assembly of 1601, when a search was ordered to be made, in order to discover the causes of defection from religion, it was reported that, besides the sins of all estates, they had to lament the "too hasty admission of men into the ministry," and the habit of "ministers framing themselves to the humours of the people<sup>1</sup>."

The Assembly, it should seem, had stated their opinion to his Majesty, that the act for appointing permanent moderators would be generally received. James replied, "That he knew them too well to expect any such thing at their hands. Their conscientious zeal to maintain parity, and a desire to keep all things in continual volubility, was so strong

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 464.

that they would never agree to a settled form of government. He was aware, besides, that some of those who were nominated to the place of moderator, would refuse to accept the same, lest they should be thought to affect a superiority over their brethren; and therefore he would have the Council to look to that business, directing those who were appointed to assume their charge, and the presbyteries to admit them to the full authority of their office<sup>1</sup>."

(1607.) The anticipations of the King were to a certain extent well founded. The Synod of Perth, in particular, which met in the month of March, commanded all the presbyteries within the limits of their jurisdiction to oppose the injunctions of the late Assembly; refusing, at the same time, to acknowledge the moderator named by the supreme court to preside at their meetings. Similar resolutions were adopted by the Synod of Fife, who would not permit the Archbishop of St. Andrew's to take the chair as their president. But, finding opposition vain, they at length complied with the authority of the Church, and soon discovered "by experience, that this settled order was much better than their circular elections<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 503. Calderwood's *Epistol. Hieron.* p. 100. Cook, ii. p. 201. The last of these authors, taking the phrase, "conscientious zeal for parity," in a laudatory acceptation, gravely reasons upon it in favour of the non-complying ministers. James was evidently ironical, or disposed, at least, to jeer at the expense of the more fervid presbyters; if, indeed, the word which he really used was not *contentious*, instead of *conscientious*—a more probable reading.

<sup>2</sup> Spotswood, as above.

(1608.) From this date episcopacy made gradual progress, both among ministers and laymen. The bishops exercised their power with lenity and prudence; satisfying the clergy that the intentions of the King were decidedly favourable to the cause of the Reformation and of evangelical truth, and that all insinuations to the contrary were utterly unfounded. Various rumours in regard to the revival of popery, having, in the meanwhile, agitated the public mind, the prelates recommended, that the thoughts of the people should be withdrawn from all matters controverted among Protestants themselves, and fixed on the great danger of Romish tyranny and superstition. A General Assembly was approaching; and, lest the authority of that court should be weakened in the eyes of the nation, by unseemly disputes on minute points of polity, it was resolved, at a conference held by the Bishops and other clerical commissioners, that “nothing which is in controversy, and maketh strife in the Church, be treated in said Assembly, but that the same be conferred on at a private meeting, by such as the Assembly shall appoint, to prepare a way for composing these differences; and that the Assembly appoint a meeting of some brethren, at such time, place, and manner, as they shall think fit<sup>1</sup>.”

When the Assembly convened, the increase of popery was taken into consideration, and traced to a variety of sources. The following were specified as requiring the application of an immediate remedy:

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, p. 584. Wodrow's Life of Boyd, vol. v. MS. p. 43.

—neglect on the part of the clergy of the religious instruction of youth; the too sudden admission of young men into the ministry; and the divided state of mind among those that were admitted, occasioned by difference of opinion. It was therefore resolved unanimously, that the incumbents of parishes should apply themselves to the exercise of their function with greater diligence than they had been accustomed to use, and take special care to see young children instructed in the Belief, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments; to examine them on these heads at the age of six years; and to make an annual inquiry into their progress and increase of knowledge. It was likewise resolved, that a longer time should be prescribed for the studies of young men intended for the service of the Church; and that all who bore office in it should be careful to avoid offence, and endeavour to keep love and peace among themselves. And for the "present distractions," which were known to originate partly from a variety of sentiment touching the external government of the Church, and partly in divided affections—feelings which were pronounced most dangerous, as not allowing the brethren to unite against the common enemy—they were all, in the fear of God, exhorted to lay down whatsoever grudge or rancour they had conceived, and to be reconciled in heart and affection to one another. "Which all that were present did faithfully promise by the holding up their hands<sup>1</sup>."

Such were the happy fruits of that approach towards subordination which now distinguished the

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 506.

polity of the Scottish Church. The attention of the ministers, long dissipated by ardent controversy, was now invited to the most interesting duties of their office : the instruction of the young, the professional improvement of theological students, and the practice of mutual charity and forbearance in their intercourse with one another.

(1609.) At a Parliament held in Edinburgh, towards the end of June, the dread of popery induced the members to ratify several statutes and regulations which more or less directly affected the interests of the Church. Noblemen sending their sons abroad for education, were restricted to such places as enjoyed the free profession of the reformed faith ; or, if they preferred Catholic countries, they were obliged to employ tutors recommended by the Bishop of the diocese in which they lived. It was added, that if the young men, notwithstanding these precautions, should decline from the true religion, their parents should be bound to withdraw the allowance made for their maintenance.

Other very severe acts were passed against the same class of Christians, not to be justified on any other ground than the cruel necessity of the times. The effect, too, in this case, fully illustrated the general principle of persecution—the unprincipled escaped, and the sincere were punished. Lord Huntley, whose tergiversations had become proverbial, once more conformed, and was again released from confinement. The Earl of Errol, too, who had been thrown into the castle of Edinburgh, was so far wrought upon by the arguments of the Protestant ministers, that he consented to subscribe their formula

of belief; and yet, “the very night after, he fell into such trouble of mind as he went near to have killed himself.” Early in the morning the Archbishop of Glasgow being called, he confessed his disinclination with many tears; and beseeching them that were present to bear witness to his remorse, he was hardly brought to any settling all that day.”—“This nobleman,” continues Spotswood, himself the Archbishop who was present, “was of a tender heart, and of all that I have known, the most conscientious in his profession; and thereupon, to his dying, was used by the Church with greater lenity than were others of that sect<sup>1</sup>.”

At the same meeting of the legislature, there was restored to the Archbishops and Bishops, the jurisdiction of commissaries; by virtue of which they were authorized to decide in all spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, controverted between any persons residing within their dioceses. After the lapse, too, of a few months, a Court of High Commission was instituted, with powers analogous to those possessed by the same tribunal in the south. The members were selected from the aristocracy, as well as from the Church; and the object contemplated by the government appears to have been limited to such cases, as to life and doctrine, as could not be conveniently determined by the Ordinary of every particular district. The first of the directions sent for their guidance, is expressed as follows:—“That every matter should not be brought at first before the High Commission, nor any thing moved into it, except the

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 513.

same was appealed unto, or complained by one of the Bishops, as a thing that could not be rectified in their diocese; or some enorme offence, in the trial whereof the Bishops should be found too remiss."

Whatever may have been the motives which suggested these expedients, there can be no doubt, that in the actual circumstances of the country, they were liable to many objections. The mere circumstance of investing Protestant prelates with the civil attributes, which had become so unpopular during the papal supremacy, was in itself unwise; and more especially ought such a step to have been avoided, from deference to the opinion, repeatedly expressed, that the union of political and religious offices in one man, was prejudicial to the interests of the Church. In assigning reasons for the line of conduct pursued at this period by the government, with the concurrence of the Bishops, there is an obvious want of candour among presbyterian writers, who cannot allow themselves to perceive in it any thing beyond the gratification of a tyrannical and ambitious spirit. It will not, however, be denied by those on the other side, who have traced to their causes the principal events which marked the latter half of the seventeenth century, that much of the odium which assailed episcopacy, arose from the civil appointments held by the leading churchmen. Though it is acknowledged that the Court of Session, founded in popish times, originally comprehended in the number of its judges a certain proportion of spiritual persons, it does not follow, that nearly a hundred years later, a Protestant Archbishop ought to have accepted a seat on the judicial bench. The democratical passion which



at that time pervaded a large section of Scotland, required, perhaps, a vigorous administration of law to check its ravages ; but this circumstance implied the strongest of all reasons why the higher clergy should have kept at a distance from the machinery of the state, and have thereby avoided that hatred which never fails to attend the exertions of those who seem to abet the schemes of oppression.

(1610.) To give due form and authority to the changes suggested in Parliament, and approved by the convention of States, a General Assembly was announced by the King, who, in a letter to the several presbyteries, required them to make choice of the wisest and most peaceably disposed among the ministers to act as their representatives. He then informed them what were the subjects on which they were to deliberate ; and added, that he had made known to the Archbishop of St. Andrew's his more special intentions, as well as the names of those whom he was desirous to have returned as commissioners. In summoning the Supreme Court of the National Church, he declared that he was complying with the wishes of sundry of his good subjects, bishops, ministers, and others ; in the hope that some method might be adopted, with common consent, whereby all the disorders and divisions which had so long scandalized the clerical profession, might be extinguished. He requested that the members chosen to attend the Assembly might be prepared to give their advice as to the " best course to be taken for the ready payment of the ministers, so as they be not distracted from their charge, and forced to attend the law by discussing of suspensions, and such like

questions. In which point," continues his Majesty, "we have had many grievous complaints from divers of the ministers, and understand our good purpose, touching them and their maintenance, to be wonderfully crossed<sup>1</sup>."

The Assembly met at Glasgow on the 8th June, in presence of certain commissioners named by the King; and Spotswood, the Archbishop of that see, was immediately elected Moderator by a great majority of the members. After a deliberation, which continued several days, the following Resolutions were so generally adopted as the sense of the meeting, that, out of a hundred and forty votes, only three were given against them.

1. That the indiction of General Assemblies belonged to his Majesty, by the prerogative of his Crown; and that all such convocations held without his permission were unlawful. The meeting at Aberdeen, in 1605, was declared null and void, as having no warrant from the King.

2. That Synods should be held in every diocese twice in the year, in which the Archbishop or Bishop of the diocese should be Moderator. In special cases, a minister named by them might hold that office.

3. That no sentence of excommunication or absolution should be pronounced without the knowledge and approbation of the Bishop of the diocese; and that when a process has been fairly and legally finished, sentence should be pronounced at the

<sup>2</sup> Calderwood, pp. 621, 622.

Bishop's direction, by the minister of the parish in which the offender dwells.

4. That all presentations should be directed to the Bishop of the diocese; that a testimonial of the life and abilities of the person presented, should be sent to the Bishop by the neighbouring ministers; and that the Bishop, upon his own examination, finding him qualified, should take the assistance of the ministers of the district, and then perfect the whole act of ordination.

5. That, in cases of deposition, the Bishop, with some ministers in the neighbourhood where the delinquent officiated, should proceed to try the cause, and to pronounce sentence.

6. That every minister, at his admission, should swear obedience to his Majesty, and his Ordinary. according to the form agreed upon at the conference in the year 1571.

7. That the visitation of the diocese should be performed by the Bishop himself; and if the bounds were greater than he could overtake, that he should then make special choice, and appoint some worthy minister of the diocese to visit for him; and that whatever minister should, without lawful excuses, refuse to appear at the visitation, or diocesan assembly, should be suspended from his office and benefice, and, if he did not amend, should be deprived.

8. That exercise of doctrine should be continued weekly among the ministers, at the time of their accustomed meetings, to be moderated by the Bishop, if he were present; or if not, by any other he should appoint at the time of Synod.

9. That the Bishops should be subject in all things concerning their life, conversation, office, and benefice, to the censure of the General Assembly, and, being found culpable, should, with his Majesty's consent and advice, be deprived.

10. That no Bishop should be elected under forty years of age, and who had not actually taught as a minister for ten years.

11. That no minister, either in the pulpit or in public exercise, should argue against, or disobey, the acts of this present Assembly, under the penalty of deprivation; and particularly that the question of equality or inequality in the ministry should not be discussed in the pulpit under the same forfeiture<sup>1</sup>.

The unanimity with which these resolutions were passed, has been made the ground of a serious charge against the government, as well as against the clergy themselves. It has been asserted, by an able historian, that the episcopal party did not trust solely to the influence of authority or of fear, they called into action those mercenary principles which operate too powerfully amongst all great bodies of men; and by actually distributing money, or by holding out the prospect of emolument, they induced many to adopt a line of conduct, from which, had they followed the dictates of integrity, they would have certainly shrunk<sup>2</sup>.

The money here mentioned consisted of the salaries due to the permanent moderators, which had not

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, pp. 631, 632. Spotswood, pp. 512, 513. Collier, ii. p. 700.

<sup>2</sup> Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 229.

been paid for four years; and, instead of being distributed beforehand, it was not claimed till after the resolutions were passed. Spotswood, who was Preses of the Assembly, relates, that, "These conclusions taken, it was complained, on behalf of the moderators of presbyteries, who had served since the year 1606, that notwithstanding the promise made at their accepting the charge, they had received no payment at all of the stipend allowed." This neglect was excused by the Earl of Dunbar, the royal commissioner, as arising from his absence from the country during that period. He affirmed, at the same time, that no application had been made to him for the salaries; but gave assurance that, before the clergy separated, means should be adopted for satisfying their claims. A certain sum, amounting to about four hundred pounds sterling, was accordingly advanced by the treasurer to meet the demands of the presbyterial moderators for their past services. The Archbishop does not conceal, that some of the discontented sort did interpret it to be a kind of corruption, giving out that this was done for obtaining the ministers' voices; "howbeit the debt was known to be just, and no motion was made of that business before the said conclusions were enacted<sup>1</sup>."

Had the King or the prelates intended to act on the motives imputed to them, they would not have allowed the stipends of the Moderators to remain so

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 513. Dr. Cook has not written on this subject with his usual candour. Indeed, his narrative, during the whole period from 1592 to 1612, occasionally displays no small share of the acerbity which belongs to the older historians, Calderwood, Petrie, and Wodrow.

long unpaid. Whatever might have been the inconvenience to the royal treasury, there can be no doubt that, had they trusted to this species of influence, the trifling sum just mentioned would have been issued to Lord Dunbar *before* the meeting of the Assembly. The true reasons which influenced the clergy were, we may charitably presume, more honourable to their characters. They had experienced the evils inseparable from the turbulent and mutinous disposition which so long distracted the Church, and they were now willing to take refuge in a system of ecclesiastical rule which, at least, held out the prospect of tranquillity and order.

Nor could they be insensible that the Roman Catholics had gained many advantages from the unhappy condition of the Protestant communion. These adherents of the older ritual saw in the new establishment avowed laymen performing the most solemn acts of the Christian priesthood; while the great body of the ministers, ordained and unordained, were more occupied in contentions with one another on points of external discipline, than in instructing the youth of their congregations, or in manifesting in their own habits the mild spirit of the Gospel. It is not surprising, therefore, that an increasing number of proselytes should have been seen to flock around the less variable standards and polity of the ancient Church; an evil which having been long ascribed to the wrath of God, was now perceived to have for its more immediate cause the anger and folly of man<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bruce, who was a long time one of the ministers of Edinburgh, was not in any kind of orders whatever. After having

Besides, in contemplating the surprising change which took place in the sentiments of the Scottish clergy, at the period now under consideration, it ought not to be forgotten, that the party who originated the more violent measures into which they were occasionally led, was not numerous, if compared with the whole body of the Church. Two or three presbyteries had influence enough to excite the fears or resentment of the important districts of Fife and Lothian; and hence it will appear that, as soon as Melville, Bruce, and a few others were removed, the agitation ceased on both sides of the Forth. The experience of every day proves to what an extent the public peace may be disturbed by the artifices of a minority, remarkable in no other respect but that of perseverance. The puritans, too, who shook the fabric of the English Church, were few in number, and not distinguished at first either for learning or ability. They were, however, loud in their complaints, representing their grievances as intolerable to every enlightened conscience; and yet, of more than nine thousand clergymen belonging to that establishment, in the reign of James, not more than forty-nine individuals were deposed for non-conformity. In all national commotions, the immense majority, who are silent and comply, are too often overlooked; and it is not until the alarm has sub-

officiated many years in the word and ordinances of the Gospel, he reluctantly submitted to the imposition of hands. It was indeed maintained, at a much later period, that the "validity of the ministerial call does not depend in the least on ordination." See Lauder's "Ancient Bishops."

sided, that men become aware of the real state of public feeling, and perceive how diminutive were the objects which had excited their apprehensions, when seen through the clouded medium of rage and controversy.

It is deserving of remark, too, that the presbyterian authors of a later age ascribe to the scheme of polity, introduced by the Second Book of Discipline, a greater value than seems to have been entertained for it by the clergy who first enjoyed its advantages. In 1592, the use of the new model was fully sanctioned by the legislature; the system of parity, so eagerly solicited by the popular preachers, and so often represented as absolutely essential to the renovation of a pure faith, was practically established to the utmost extent of their wishes; and yet, the very year after, as we have observed, the General Assembly passed a resolution, the object of which was to restore prelacy in every thing but the name! The supreme judicatory of the newly reformed Church revived the appointment of commissioners with episcopal powers; giving them authority "to visit and try the doctrine, life, conversation, diligence, and fidelity of the pastors within the several presbyteries."

The gradual return, therefore, which we have just witnessed, from the modern to the more ancient principles of ecclesiastical constitution, will not appear very surprising; and it may unquestionably be explained, without any reference to that disgraceful sacrifice of integrity which is insinuated against the ministers convened at Glasgow in 1610. To most readers, the strange resolution of the Assembly in 1593—the same meeting to whom the Act of Parlia-



ment, recognising the new polity, was first communicated—cannot but prove much more unaccountable. At the very moment they received the boon, for which some of them had been extremely importunate, they made manifest by the least ambiguous conduct they could adopt, that it was unsuitable for them in the actual circumstances of their society; and that, in order to have an efficient government, they must resume the method which they had been accustomed to denounce, as one of the corruptions of primitive Christianity.

The Assembly of Glasgow having placed the Church on the basis of a regular episcopacy, nothing was now wanting but the canonical consecration of the clergymen to whom the administration of its laws had been committed. For this purpose, Spotswood and two others, Lamb of Breechin, and Hamilton of Galloway, were invited to London by the King, who, at the first audience, addressed them to the following effect: That he had, at great expense, recovered the temporalities of the bishoprics out of the hands of those who possessed them, and bestowed the same on such as he hoped would prove worthy of their places; but as it was impossible that he could make them Bishops, or that they could assume this office of themselves, he had sent for them to England, in order that, being consecrated there, they might, on their return to their native country, confer a similar gift upon others. By this step, he remarked, the adversaries' mouths will be stopped, who said that he took upon him to create Bishops and bestow spiritual offices; “which he never did, nor would presume to do; acknowledging that authority to

belong to Christ alone, and those he had authorized with his power<sup>1</sup>."

The Scottish prelates expressed their willingness to comply with his Majesty's desire; suggesting, however, that their brethren in the north might be thereby led to apprehend a revival of the old claim to supremacy on the part of the Anglican Church. The King, who had anticipated this objection, assured them that he had guarded against all such pretensions, by naming as the consecrators the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath. Had either of the Archbishops been employed, it was admitted that some occasion might have been ministered to the renewal of the disputed right, so long agitated between the two branches of the British hierarchy. Dr. Andrews, the Bishop of Ely, stated the necessity of ordaining them deacons and priests before they should be elevated to the episcopate, on the ground that they had not been canonically admitted to holy orders in Scotland. Spotswood relates, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Bancroft, who was present, maintained that there was no necessity for such a precaution, because where no Bishops could be had, the ordination given by presbyters must be esteemed lawful; otherwise it might be doubted whether there was any lawful vocation in most of the reformed Churches. The scruples of Dr. Andrews are said to have been removed by this simple argument; and the consecration accordingly took place, on the 21st October, 1610, in the chapel of London House<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 514.

<sup>2</sup> Heylin asserts, that the Primate overruled the objection of the Bishop of Ely, by reminding him, that the higher order

(1612.) The Archbishop of Glasgow and his colleagues having arrived in Scotland, the Bishops of the different sees were regularly invested with the episcopal authority. Two years after their return, a Parliament was holden at Edinburgh, where all the Resolutions of the late Assembly were ratified, and all Acts inconsistent with them rescinded and annulled. Among these last was the celebrated statute of 1592, by which the Discipline was acknowledged as the form of government and worship in the national Church.

The temporary triumph of the Episcopalians in Scotland gave rise, among writers on the other side, to much bitter animosity, of which the remains may still be detected in more modern compositions. The piety of that age, in many respects sufficiently sullen and austere, shewed itself nevertheless abundantly indulgent to satirical invective and furious railing, when directed against the enemies of the popular cause. The wrath which burned in the breast of Andrew Melville, for example, has perpetuated its fervour, not less strikingly in his speeches for the truth and liberty of the Gospel, than in personal abuse, and slanderous epigrams on the characters of men, who, while they were not inferior to him in professional acquirements, in point of Christian temper were incomparably more estimable.

The Bishops, as might be expected, received their

included the lower, and that there were instances of Bishops being made *per saltum*. The authority of Spotswood, on this occasion, cannot however be set aside, as he was not only present, but deeply interested in the discussion. See Collier, vol. ii. p. 702. Heylin, p. 388. Skinner, ii. p. 252. Cook, ii. 245.

full share of this calumny. The very persons who, in the course of their diocesan visitations, gained, by their mild manners, the suffrages of the parochial ministers in support of the Church, have been described in lampoons as drunkards, gluttons, debauchees, gamblers, and extortioners. Besides, they had been recently selected from the ranks of the presbyterians themselves; and as their "lives and conversations," even after they became Bishops, were subject to the censure of the General Assembly, who had authority not only to reprove but to depose them, we may conclude that their chief offence consisted in their having inflicted a severe disappointment on certain ambitious rivals. No one attaches much confidence to such sketches of personal history as are drawn by the pencil of hostile factions; more especially when the leisure devoted to this employment is that which immediately succeeds the transference of power and office<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Cook, ii. p. 204. In respect to the influence acquired by the Bishops from their personal intercourse with the clergy—a fact which is not denied—it is but just to quote the words of Calderwood, who, at p. 578, says, "by policie on the one side, and terrour on the other, they got too much advantage among the weak and simple of the ministry." It may be sufficient to state, in reply, that the Assembly at Glasgow consisted of 140 members; a number which must have included men of all talents and tempers; and yet, even according to Calderwood, the Resolutions were not opposed by more than five individuals. What must be thought of a Church, and one too so exactly reformed, in which terror or policy could secure a majority so overwhelming! But the true motives for this change in their sentiments, were disgust at the seditious spirit which had so long divided their body, and the prospect of a more comfortable settlement under the new form.

## CHAPTER XII.

FROM 1612, TO THE OVERTHROW OF EPISCOPACY, IN  
THE YEAR 1638.

*Fears of Popery—Canons and Liturgy projected—Confession of Faith and Catechism—Caution of Bishops—James resolves to visit Scotland—Chapel Royal repaired—The King urges his prerogative—Assembly at Perth—Articles passed, and afterwards ratified by Parliament—Gave partial dissatisfaction—Fanatical commotions—Accession of Charles I.—Supplication presented to him—Disappointment increased—King alarms the nobility by proposing to revoke Church Lands—Sympathy between the malcontents in England and Scotland—Charles repairs to Edinburgh, where he is crowned—Dispute in northern Parliament on the King's prerogative—Adjustment of Tithes in Scotland—Relief to the owners and occupiers of land—The principle of valuation explained—Tithes still burdened with provision to clergy—Income secured for parish schools—See of Edinburgh founded—Character of Dr. Forbes, the first Bishop—Resentment of the Lords increased—Bishops raised to civil offices—Power of the nobles—Intention of the King to diminish it—He is deterred from resuming the grants made by the Crown—Canons and Liturgy prepared—The latter appears with the communion service of Edward the Sixth's first Liturgy—Both Canons and Liturgy introduced without being submitted to the clergy—Charles' reasons for thinking them acceptable—Multitude tampered with—Liturgy rejected—Disturbances in the capital—The clergy, with few exceptions, were willing to comply—Not hostile to Episcopacy—Rioters praised by popular ministers—Remarks by Baillie—Magistrates deceive the King—Bad policy of Charles—Proclamations and Protestations—*

*The Tables formed—Covenant signed by great numbers—Duplicity of its authors—It was coolly received in many parts, and in others violently obtruded—Ministers who refused to sign, obliged to fly—Marquis of Hamilton appointed commissioner—Threat by the nobles—Pious Frauds—Parliament and Assembly indicted—Conditions proposed by the King—Rejected by Covenanters—Devices to prevent the clergy from returning their own Members—Lay influence—Charges against two judges—Motives of nobility and gentry—Majority secured—Atrocious charge against the Bishops—Covenanters opposed at Aberdeen and Glasgow—Assembly meets—Appearance and manners—Declination of Bishops—Protests by clergy—Discussions—Assembly dissolved—But continues to sit, and passes acts for the overthrow of Episcopacy—Excommunicates Bishops—and restrains the freedom of the press—Remarks.*

THE zeal and activity of the Bishops were for some time employed in checking the endeavours of the Romish clergy to maintain or extend the influence of their faith in different parts of the kingdom. Punishment was inflicted, and conformity was pressed, in a manner which reflected no honour on the discernment or tolerance of the ecclesiastical leaders; who, it is probable, if left to the guidance of their own feelings, would not have disturbed the exercise of private devotion, nor the settled convictions of conscience. But the popular voice required that the idolatry of the mass should be visited with the severest penalties of law; and, accordingly, a priest was put to death by the public executioner, and the Marquis of Huntly was once more compelled, or induced, to renounce the only creed in which he appears to have believed.

Notwithstanding these avocations, little congenial with the true spirit of Christianity, the Church enjoyed prosperity and peace. Time, there is reason

to presume, would have completed the object which the King had so much at heart, and given solidity to the foundations of the fabric he had lately reared in his native dominions ; but, impatient to accomplish his scheme of an entire assimilation between the two establishments, he forthwith precipitated the northern prelates into measures which, in the end, defeated all his plans. As yet, there were not, in the Scottish communion, any authoritative Articles of belief. Canons for the regulation of discipline, or a Liturgy for the common worship of the several congregations. The Confession, which was introduced in the days of Knox, though no longer sanctioned by law, was still held as the symbol of the national faith ; and the prayers, founded on the devotional usages of Geneva, and recommended by the same reformer, were occasionally used in Church, according to the discretion of the officiating clergyman.

It therefore appeared to James extremely desirable that all these deficiencies should be supplied without delay ; and that the theological tenets, worship, discipline, ritual, and sacerdotal vestments of North Britain should be speedily brought to a near resemblance with those to which he had now become familiar in the south.

(1616.) With this view, as well as to devise more effectual means for the suppression of popery, a General Assembly was summoned to meet at Aberdeen. A Confession of Faith was compiled and submitted to the review of the clergy, who were easily induced to approve a compend remarkable at once for its orthodoxy and moderation. A resolution was also passed for preparing a catechism adapted to the

capacity of children; and the sense of the meeting was expressed in favour of the expediency of Common Prayers, as also of such uniformity in Church discipline as might be secured by the enactment of suitable canons. It was appointed that these last should be drawn from the books of former Assemblies, or from the records of Councils and ecclesiastical Conventions in earlier times<sup>1</sup>.

The caution manifested by the Bishops, who, in their process of reform, wished to avoid the great error of anticipating the knowledge and inclinations of the people, did not give full satisfaction to his Majesty. He suggested to them, in a private communication, that several other improvements might have been introduced, especially in regard to the ministration of the sacraments, the observance of the festivals, and the confirmation of young persons, properly instructed, by prayer and the imposition of hands. The prelates represented in strong, though respectful language, the inexpediency of urging these innovations, in the peculiar circumstances of the Scottish Church; employing arguments in support of their views, in which, for the present, the King saw it proper to acquiesce<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Calderwood, p. 668, &c. This author has transcribed the Confession at length. Spotswood, p. 528.

<sup>2</sup> Spotswood, p. 529. In this Assembly it was enacted, "that no man should be permitted to practise or profess any phisic, unless he had first satisfied the Bishop of the diocese touching his religion." It may be thence inferred, that Popish priests visited Roman Catholic families under the guise of medical practitioners.



(1617.) James was this year seized with a desire to visit the place of his nativity, and made known to his deputies in the northern government, his resolution of appearing at Edinburgh as a sovereign. An effort was made to induce his Majesty to postpone this royal progress; but, as his determination could not be changed, preparations were made by his courtiers to receive him, in a manner suitable to his augmented dignity, and with every appearance of affection and respect. Attentive to the decorum which he thought indispensable in divine worship, he sent directions to repair the chapel of Holyrood House; and, lest the craftsmen of his ancient metropolis should have lost their skill in architectural decoration, he issued orders to certain English carpenters to precede him in his journey beyond the Tweed. These artificers, not aware of the antipathy which prevailed among the Scottish people, at that period, to every representation, whether carved or molten, of the personages which figure in sacred history, had carried with them some miniature effigies of the apostles, to be inserted among the ornaments of the stalls and principal pews. The intelligence of this daring approach to the popish superstition, spread a deep alarm among the citizens and their favourite preachers. They exclaimed, that the “images were come, and ere long they should have the mass.” To soothe the fears of the multitude, the Bishops addressed a letter to the King, entreating that, for the offence which was taken, he would “stay the affixing of these portraits.” James yielded to their remonstrances, not, however, without taunt-

ing them with the incapacity of being able to distinguish between figures intended for ornament, and images erected for worship<sup>1</sup>."

At a Parliament which was held soon after his arrival, the King manifested an injudicious anxiety for the establishment of his prerogative in matters ecclesiastical. After some discussion, it was enacted, that "whatever his Majesty should determine in the external government of the Church, with the advice of the Archbishops, Bishops, and a competent number of the ministers, should have the strength of a law." But as this resolution, which, in fact, gained nothing for the Crown, was disagreeable to some of the clergy, James did not bestow upon it the royal sanction. The prelates, indeed, were not less solicitous than the inferior pastors, that the constitution of the Church should not be tampered with; and that the monarch should not, by absurd or unseasonable pretensions to a paramount authority, awaken jealousies which were yet hardly lulled to sleep<sup>2</sup>.

(1618.) The King returned to London without

<sup>1</sup> James, who seems to have been as much amused as angry with the scruples of his native subjects, compared them, as Spotswood tells us, to the constable of Castile, who was sent to ratify the peace concluded with Spain. When this dignitary understood the business was to be concluded in chapel, where some anthems were to be sung, he desired that "whatsoever was sung, God's name might not be used in it, and that being forborn, they might sing what they listed." "So," said the King, "you can endure lions, dragons, and devils to be figured in your churches, but will not allow the like place to the patriarchs and apostles." — *History of the Church of Scotland*, p. 530.

<sup>2</sup> The attempts made this year to secure provision for the clergy, will be mentioned afterwards when describing the arrangements sanctioned by Parliament in 1633.

having accomplished what may be supposed to have been the principal object of his visit ; the conformity of the Scottish communion to the worship and ritual of their English brethren. But the Bishops had given him an assurance that all regular means should be employed to procure the sanction of the General Assembly for the usages which he deemed so important. Accordingly, certain points being adjusted in a preliminary meeting at St. Andrew's, a convocation of the clergy was holden at Perth ; where, after some discrepancy of opinion, the following articles were adopted as canons of the Church. The prominent place which they occupy in the subsequent annals of clerical controversy justifies their insertion in the original terms.

1. " Seeing that we are commanded by God himself that, when we come to worship him, we fall down and kneel before God our Maker, and considering withal, that there is no part of divine worship more heavenly and spiritual, than is the holy receiving of the blessed body and blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, like as the most reverend and humble gesture of our body in our meditation, and the lifting up of our hearts best becometh so divine and sacred an action ; therefore, notwithstanding that our Church hath used, since the reformation of religion, to celebrate the holy communion to the people sitting, by reason of the great abuse of kneeling used in the idolatrous worship of the sacrament by the Papists ; yet seeing all memory of by-past superstition is past, in reverence of God, and in due regard of so divine a mystery, and in remembrance of so mystical a union as we are made partakers of, the Assembly thinketh

good that the blessed sacrament be celebrated hereafter, meekly and reverently, upon their knees.

2. "If any good Christian, visited with long sickness and known to the pastor, by reason of his present infirmity be unable to resort to the Church for receiving the holy communion, or being sick, shall declare to the pastor, upon his conscience, that he thinketh his sickness to be deadly, and shall earnestly desire to receive the same in his house, the minister shall not deny him so great a comfort, lawful warning being given to him the night before, and that there be three or four of good religion and conversation, free of all lawful impediments, present with the sick person, to communicate with him, who must also provide a convenient place in his house, and all things necessary for the reverend administration thereof, according to the order prescribed in the Church.

3. "The minister shall often admonish the people, that they defer not the baptism of infants any longer than the next Lord's day after the child is born, unless upon a great and reasonable cause declared to the minister, and by him approved, the same be postponed : as also they shall warn them, that, without great cause, they procure not their children to be baptized at home in their houses ; but when great need shall compel them to baptize in private houses, (in which case the minister shall not refuse to do it, upon the knowledge of the great need, and being timely required thereto,) then baptism shall be administered after the same form as it should have been in the congregation : and the minister shall, the Lord's day after any such private baptism, declare

in the church, that the infant was so baptized, and therefore ought to be received as one of the true flock of Christ's fold.

4. "Forasmuch as one of the special means for staying the increase of Popery, and settling of true religion in the hearts of the people, is, that a special care be taken of young children, their education, and how they are catechised, which, in time of the primitive Church, was most carefully attended to, as being most profitable to cause young children in their tender years to drink in the knowledge of God and his religion, but is now altogether neglected, in respect of the great abuse and errors which crept into the Popish Church, by making thereof a sacrament of confirmation ; therefore, that all superstitions built thereupon may be rescinded, and that the matter itself, being most necessary for the education of youth, may be reduced to the primitive integrity, it is thought good that the minister in every parish should catechise all young children of eight years of age, and see that they have the knowledge, and be able to make rehearsal of the Lord's Prayer, Belief, and Ten Commandments, with answers to the questions of the small catechism used in our Church ; and that every Bishop in his visitation shall censure the minister who shall be found remiss therein ; and the said Bishops shall cause the said children to be presented before them, and bless them with prayer for the increase of their knowledge, and the continuance of God's heavenly graces with every one of them.

5. "As we abhor the superstitious observance of festival days by the Papists, and detest all licentious

and profane abuses thereof by the common sort of professors, so we think that the inestimable benefits received from God by our Lord Jesus Christ, his Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and sending down of the Holy Ghost, were commendably and godly remembered at certain particular days and times, by the whole Church of the world, and may be so now; therefore the Assembly admitteth, that every minister shall, upon these days, have the commemoration of the foresaid inestimable benefits, and make choice of several and pertinent texts of Scripture, and frame their doctrine and exhortation thereto, and rebuke all superstitious observation and licentious profanation thereof<sup>1</sup>."

These resolutions, well known in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland as the Articles of Perth, were ratified by Parliament in the year 1621. Originating in the suggestion of the King, it was not probable that they would give satisfaction to all the ministers; many of whom retained a strong jealousy against royal interference in the discipline or worship of the Church. But even the most rigid of these must have admitted, that there was more to blame in the manner in which his Majesty pursued his object, than in the actual decisions of the Assembly, which

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, pp. 538, 539. For the Proceedings of the Perth Assembly, the reader will do well to consult the "True Narration" by Dr. Lindesay, Bishop of Brechin, who has given a very particular account of the deliberations which occupied the clergy during their several sessions. See also a "Dispute against the English-Popish Ceremonies," by Mr. George Gillespie, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, published in 1637. Collier, vol. ii. p. 712. Calderwood, p. 708.

he took so much pains to direct and even to influence. For example, though the private administration of either sacrament, under certain urgent circumstances, was now permitted by law, yet no one was obliged to avail himself of that privilege. The same remark applies to Confirmation, and the observance of the festivals. Every individual not in orders was left at perfect freedom to omit the celebration of these rites, or to conform to the rule of the Church, as he should see proper. Even in regard to the attitude enjoined for receiving the holy communion,—the point in which there was the least discretionary power,—there were some congregations, which, though they refused to comply, were, as long as they conducted themselves with quietness, permitted to follow the wonted method, without fear or disturbance. It is deserving of notice, however, that as the articles were enacted by a great majority, the most of the clergy obeyed the injunctions of their national convocation <sup>1</sup>.

It is true, that several ministers were persecuted for non-compliance ; but it will be found that their refusal was generally accompanied with expressions of disloyalty to the government, or of insult towards their brethren who set an example of obedience. Mr. Richard Dickson, for instance, the first person

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cook, vol. ii. p. 295, remarks that “ the King enforced them (the Articles) with the violence of a bigot and the haughtiness of a tyrant ; he overawed the judgments and the consciences of his people, and seemed determined even to stake his crown upon the attainment of his object Yet it is impossible for the most credulous to believe that this was the effect of sincere though mistaken zeal for religion.” A severe reflection!

summoned before the High Commission for this offence, not only inhibited the people from kneeling at the sacrament, but declared that "the conclusion of the General Assembly was in itself superstitious and damnable, and inclined for the most part to idolatry." So lenient, indeed, was the administration of the new law, that several clergymen in Edinburgh declared themselves ready to give the communion to the people, standing, kneeling, or sitting, as their consciences or taste might dictate; but this concession was rejected, with what consistency it does not appear, as a violation of order. In a word, there was still a party hostile to the Establishment; and the articles of Perth afforded a plausible pretext for reviving animosities in the breasts of the multitude, and for assailing the motives of the Bishops<sup>1</sup>.

As an instance of the paltry expedients to which some of the preachers condescended, in order to sustain the popular rage when it appeared to subside, Spotswood mentions, that when the Synod of Dort, in 1619, condemned the "five articles" wherein the Arminians dissented from what were called the Reformed Churches, it was reported that this sentence was passed against the Scottish articles, the number happening to be the same in both cases. "It was

<sup>1</sup> Among the reasons urged by the minority against the Articles, Calderwood (p. 713.) mentions as the ninth in order, that "they set loose the filthie minds and mouths of fleshly livers to triumph against the most sound and best reformed professors, and to rejoice in their rotten opinions and restored opportunities of sensual observation of ginsing, gluttonie, carrols, &c." These good men had bad thoughts and worse language, whenever they wrote or spoke about the majority to whom they were opposed.



given out," says he, "among the vulgar sort, that they had condemned the Synod of Perth; and for a time was the people entertained by some ministers in those conceits."

(1621.) This year was held the last Parliament of James; in which, as has been already mentioned, the late canons received the sanction of the legislature. On this occasion his Majesty reminded the Bishops, that as they had to do with two sorts of enemies, Papists and Puritans, so they should go forward in action against both the one and the other; that Papistry was a disease of the mind, and Puritanism of the brain; and that the antidote of both was a grave, settled, and well-ordered Church, in the obedience of God and their King; whereof he willed them to be careful, and to use all means for reducing those, who, either of simplicity or wilfulness, had fallen into error<sup>1</sup>.

(1625.) On the accession of Charles I., the anti-episcopal party made an effort to gain the favour of the Court. They intrusted to the hands of Sir Robert Scot, one of the ministers of Glasgow, a supplication addressed to his Majesty, intreating relief from the grievances imposed by the Perth Assembly. But the young King, who was not less desirous than his father had been, to establish a complete uniformity in the Church on both sides of the Tweed, turned a deaf ear to their solicitations.

This disappointment was borne with much apparent equanimity. No resentment was expressed, nor threatenings uttered, by the unsuccessful peti-

<sup>1</sup> Spotswood, p. 542.

tioners. On the contrary, their deportment savoured of gravity and meekness. They satisfied themselves, in the mean time, with unremitting endeavours to increase the number of their adherents, especially in Fife and the western counties. For this purpose, they had recourse to frequent fasts in the several parishes devoted to their interests ; a practice which was introduced without authority, and continued without any formal announcement. The first Sunday of every quarter was secretly set apart for that exercise ; and the ministers used their influence in private with such members of their congregations as were disposed to join them in promoting the object which they had in view. On those more solemn occasions, they were wont, in their sermons, to hint at the danger to which religion was exposed by the dominance of prelacy ; and, in their prayers, to supplicate a remedy, with a blessing upon all good means which Providence should present towards accomplishing that end. By this course, long and steadily pursued, they prevailed much with the common people<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 8. Bishop Burnet, who was no friend to Scottish prelacy, gives an amusing sketch of the popular ministers at the beginning of the seventeenth century. " The puritans gained credit as the King and the Bishops lost it. They put on external appearances of great strictness and gravity ; they took more pains in their parishes than those who adhered to the Bishops, and were often preaching against the vices of the court ; for which they were sometimes punished, though very gently, which raised their reputation, and drew presents to them that made up their sufferings abundantly. They begun some particular methods of getting their people to meet privately with

But these expedients, though they might have perpetuated, and even strengthened the opposition which was to be expected from the northern Puritans, would not alone have endangered the stability of the Church. The refinements in which that party indulged, as to doctrine and ceremony, were well fitted to produce an impression on the low people, who are always ready to listen to men who affect self-denial, and inculcate the vanity of external forms. Charles, by the measures which he had resolved to adopt for consolidating the spiritual estate in Scotland, was unconsciously rousing into action a much more formidable enemy than the rigid pas-

them; and in these meetings they gave great vent to extemporary prayer, which was looked upon as a sort of inspiration; and by these means they grew very popular. They were very factious and insolent; and both in their sermons and prayers were always mixing severe reflections on their enemies. Some of them boldly gave out very many predictions; particularly two of them, who were held prophets, Davison and Bruce. Some of the things that they foretold came to pass; but my father, who knew them both, told me of many of their predictions that he himself heard them throw out, which had no effect: but all these were forgotten; and if some more probable guessings, which they delivered as prophecies, were accomplished, these were much magnified. They were very spiteful against all those who differed from them; and were wanting in no methods that could either procure them good usage or good presents. Of this my father had great occasion to see many instances; for my great grandmother, who was a very rich woman, and much engaged to them, was most obsequiously courted by them. Bruce lived concealed in her house for some years; and they all found such advantages in their submissions to her, that she was counted for many years the chief support of the party." *History of his own Time*, pp. 29, 30, Oxford edition.

tors of a few rural districts. To secure a suitable income for the prelates, he had made known his intention to revoke the grants of ecclesiastical property, from which many of the nobles at this period derived the larger share of their income. He began by recommending a scheme for the sale or commutation of tithes, on a principle which will be afterwards explained; reserving the more efficient resource of an entire revocation of territorial demesnes, until his plans should be better matured. Such proceedings could not fail to alarm the possessors of church-lands, as well as the lay-impropriators, or, as they are denominated in Scottish law, the titulars of tiends. The lords soon discovered a cogent reason for taking part with such of the ministers as opposed episcopacy.

A strong sympathy, too, had already begun to operate between the popular faction in the south and the mal-contents of Scotland. Both professed their desire to restrict the prerogative of the King, and to repress what they considered the domineering spirit of the clergy; and amidst all the differences of purpose which ensued in the course of the struggle between the Crown and the Parliament, those objects proved a rallying point where they from time to time concentrated their forces.

(1633.) But twelve years elapsed before the views of Charles encountered any direct or serious opposition from his Scottish subjects. Imitating the example of his father, he determined to visit the land of his birth, and to receive the honours of royalty after the manner of his ancestors. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 13th of June, and, a few days

afterwards was crowned by Archbishop Spotswood in the palace of Holyrood-house. He was accompanied by Laud, who performed Divine service in the chapel-royal, according to the English liturgy, and earnestly recommended in his discourse the use of the same ritual in all its parts. The sermon, we are told, was heard with a degree of approbation, that seemed to justify the immediate introduction of a form of prayer, as well as the full adoption of the sacerdotal vestments; to which last the zealous Bishop of London attached perhaps more than an adequate importance.

It was, however, on the subject of clerical dress, trifling as it may appear, that Charles was doomed to sustain the first attack of that uncompromising hostility which at length drove him from his throne. An act, as we have seen, was passed in the reign of James, conferring upon that monarch an unlimited power in regulating the habits of churchmen. In a Parliament which met on the 28th of June, a proposal was made to renew this privilege, and connect it with a bill declaratory of the royal prerogative. The Earl of Rothes, who had already taken a side in opposition to the Court, spoke against the longer continuance of a species of authority which, he maintained, was inconsistent with the liberties of the Church. When the House had come to a vote, the clerk declared, that there was a majority in favour of the bill. Rothes denied the accuracy of this report, although he saw that the King had marked the respective numbers on a slip of paper, as the voices were given. The question has not, even at this distant day, been cleared from all doubt; but, as the Earl could not persist in his assertion without exposing himself to a

severe penalty, in the event of his being found in error, the decision was held good in support of the statute on which the members had divided. The minority, who could ill brook a defeat in such circumstances, retired in silent gloom and indignation ; resolving to watch the movements of a prince, who seemed smitten with an undue love of power, while he submitted to be guided by counsellors, some of whom, according to their views, were not in all respects worthy of his confidence.

As this Parliament rendered itself memorable by the proceedings which were adopted in it for the adjustment of the tithe system, and the foundation of parochial schools, it will be necessary to enter into a few details, illustrative of the principles upon which these objects were pursued by the sovereign, the Church, and the landed proprietors. In 1617, indeed, the government authorised certain commissioners, selected from the clergy, nobility, barons, and burgesses, to call before them all persons having or claiming right to tithes, either as proprietors or as lessees, and to assign from them a local stipend to the ministers. The amount was regulated by the special circumstances of the neighbourhood as to wealth and the expense of living ; but in no case was it to be less than five chalders of corn, or five hundred marks ; nor more than eight chalders, or eight hundred marks ; and this, in both cases, exclusive of a manse and glebe. Bishop Burnet remarks, in respect to this arrangement, when afterwards completed, that, considering the plenty and way of living in Scotland, it constituted a very liberal

provision, and was equal to thrice the same sum in the southern parts of the kingdom.

So far the interests of the Church were consulted, and placed by statute beyond the reach of the violence and avarice to which they had been very often sacrificed. But the proprietors and occupiers of land, of which the tithes had been alienated, complained bitterly of the injuries inflicted upon them by the owners of that portion of their produce ; both because these last exacted their dues to the full extent of the law, and also exposed the cultivator to loss by unnecessary delay in the time of harvest. In the end, these grievances reached the ears of the sovereign, who proposed an expedient by means of which the possessor of the land should have the full management of the entire crop, on condition of paying to the titular, or lay impropriator, the annual value of the tithes, estimated in money or corn. To further this object, it was determined that all the tithes in the kingdom should be *valued* ; and, moreover, that, in so far as these were not destined as a perpetual fund for the maintenance of the clergy, or for the support of universities, schools, and hospitals, they should be purchased by the proprietor of the ground.

The principle of valuation may be considered, first, as it affected those proprietors who were lessees of the tithes on their own lands, and secondly, those on whose grounds the tenth was regularly separated from the crop, at the instance of the titular. In the former case, the tithe was estimated at a *fifth part of the rent* paid by the tenant ; in the latter it was rated

at its true value, under the deduction of a fifth part, for the relief or benefit of the landed proprietor. To regulate the purchase, in both cases, it was enacted, that the tithes, whether consisting of corn or other produce, should be first reduced to money, according to their market price in different parts of the country; and then, that the sum to be given for their redemption should be equal to their annual value multiplied by nine. In other words, when the valuation was completed, every proprietor was entitled to demand the transfer of the tithes exigible on his estate, on paying to the titular a price estimated at nine years' purchase. By the original act, a particular period was fixed, beyond which no such sales could be forced, if the impropiator chose to retain his tithes; but, by subsequent statutes, this limitation was removed, and, as the law stands at present, the landowner may purchase, at any time, on the principle established in the year 1633.

It may seem that the terms of this bargain, now rendered obligatory by the legislature, were much too favourable to the proprietor of land. But it has not yet been mentioned, that the tithes, although purchased from the titular, as a separate fund, were still liable for a competent provision to the minister of the parish, even to the full extent of their legal valuation. The judges of the Court of Session, who are the perpetual commissioners of tiends, or tithes, are invested with power to augment the stipend of each clergyman as circumstances may appear to them to require, and to decide in all questions relative to the rating and sale of that species of property. In all cases, it is understood, that the living of the in-



cumbent cannot be extended beyond the amount of the tithes in his parish, according to the rule of valuation already explained.

The advantages secured by this arrangement to the owners and occupiers of land, were not appreciated very highly at the time when it was first introduced. They, indeed, soon experienced the convenience of having the unrestricted management of their crops; and of being exempted from the necessity of paying their tithes in kind, to an avaricious or insolent titular. But, as the interest of money was at that period about ten per cent., and as the tiends had been estimated very little under their real value, the inducement to purchase was not very great. Hence it is supposed that not more than six or eight sales were accomplished before the union in 1707. Since that epoch, however, the transactions between landlord and impropiator, have been numerous and extensive; though the most important object with the former was to have the tithes valued as long as the prices of agricultural produce were low, postponing the actual redemption till it should suit his own convenience.

The Church, on the other hand, although a legal and permanent income was now secured for her ministers, had reason to complain that her interests were in a great measure sacrificed to the impatience and cupidity of those who had seized her patrimony. The source, whence alone her future revenue was to be derived, was limited by means, and agreeably to a principle which had a reference to a very rude age; when the cultivation of the soil was repressed by ignorance of nearly all the arts essential to its success, as well as

by the fears and carelessness which always attend an unsettled government. The valuation of tithe, consequently, was not only low, but it was confined to the few fields, comparatively speaking, which were at that period under the plough. Since those days the improvements in rural economy have at once augmented the produce tenfold on the old farms, and added immensely to the extent of arable land ; but, though every other class of men has profited by the increasing powers of agriculture, a large proportion of the Scottish clergy can gain from them no benefit whatever. Their hopes and claims are still confined to a valuation which took place two centuries ago<sup>1</sup>.

The Parliament of 1633 earned a farther title to the approbation of the country by a wise enactment regarding parochial schools. From the period of the Reformation, indeed, the clergy had never altogether lost sight of this important object ; but the narrowness of their means, and the want of co-operation on the part of the more influential laymen, had hitherto prevented them from establishing any regular scheme for the instruction of the people. In the year 1616, when episcopacy had recovered its form and energies, the Privy Council recommended to the Bishops “ to deale and travel with the heritors (proprietors of land) and inhabitants of the several parishes in their respective dioceses, towards the fixing upon some certain, solid, and sure course for settling and maintaining a school in each parish.” This benevolent intention was still farther pursued at the meeting of

<sup>1</sup> See Sir John Connell's work on Tithes, and Edinburgh Review, vol. xxxviii. p. 1—12.

the States just mentioned. A statute was passed, which empowered the Bishop, with the consent of the heritors of a parish, or of the majority of the inhabitants, if the heritors refused to attend the summons, to assess every plough of land—that is, in effect, every farm in proportion to the number of ploughs upon it—with a certain sum for the endowment of a school.

Thus did Charles the First confer upon Scotland two of the greatest boons that legislative wisdom could devise; securing to the ecclesiastical body a permanent though frugal endowment, and providing for the poor the facility of acquiring a cheap and pious education. It was during the same visit that he resolved to found the bishopric of Edinburgh. As the northern capital is situated in that part of the country which originally belonged to the kingdom of Northumberland, and was consequently subject to the archiepiscopal see of York, it had been deemed expedient not to make it the seat of a Bishop, as long as the two British crowns were separate. The charter of foundation is dated at Whitehall, 29th September, 1633<sup>1</sup>.

The King himself made choice of the first incumbent, in the person of Dr. William Forbes, at that time one of the ministers of the city, and formerly Principal of Marischal College, in Aberdeen. His Majesty, who had frequently heard him preach, was so much pleased with his ability and theological knowledge, that he described him as a divine who

<sup>1</sup> Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, *second edition*, p. 44.

deserved to have a see specially erected for him. The royal patent bears date 26th January, 1634, and Bishop Forbes died on the first day of April following; having appeared, says his biographer, only long enough to be known, but not long enough to do what his learning and talents would have enabled him to accomplish<sup>1</sup>.

But Charles, notwithstanding all his exertions, did not succeed in giving general satisfaction to the Scottish people. He had alarmed the nobility, as has been already observed, by certain indications of a plan to recover for the Church a share of the wealth of which she had been deprived during the tumults of the preceding century; he had disappointed some ambitious individuals, who thought their services, which seemed to them to merit the reward of a title, entirely overlooked; he had irritated the puritanical party by the favour shewn to episcopalians, as well as by the importance which he attached to what in their eyes appeared nothing better than popish ceremonies; and, by an incautious use of his prerogative, he had awakened the jealousy of those more generous spirits

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Keith informs us, that he was a person endued with all Christian virtues, insomuch that a very worthy man, Lord Crimond, said of him, that he never saw him but he thought his heart was in heaven; and that he was never alone with him, but he felt within himself a commentary on these words of the two disciples, "Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked with us by the way, and while he opened to us the Scriptures?" After his death were published, *Considerationes Modestæ*, selected from his academical productions, delivered when Principal at Aberdeen. He had written elaborate Animadversions on Bellarmine, which were lost during the subsequent troubles. *Catalogue*, p. 61.

who began to set a value on the privileges of political freedom. The fears of the nobility regarding the revocation of the ecclesiastical estates, were moreover not a little embittered by their resentment at the elevation of the dignified clergy to the highest civil offices under the Crown. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's was created Chancellor; nine of the Bishops were made privy councillors; some of them also possessed places in the Exchequer; and an opinion was entertained that the prelates would be called once more to occupy the greater number of seats in the College of Justice, according to the original principles of its institution<sup>1</sup>.

An occasion soon presented itself for giving a full expression of their dislike to episcopacy, and of their decided opposition to the measures by which it appeared to be the intention of the King to support it. During the reign of James, as already stated, the

<sup>1</sup> Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 14. Large Declaration, p. 6—12. "At this time many of our subjects of greatest quality were suitors to us for new titles of honour; gentlemen to be lords; lords to be earls. Impossible it was for us to satisfy all suitors in that kind, without the prostitution of honour to a just and open contempt; and therefore being put upon a choice and selection, we held it fitter in the point both of honour and justice to pass by such as both privately in their secret meetings, and openly in the Parliament House, had shewed their disrespects to us and our just proceedings, that those who had carried themselves not only loyally and dutifully, but affectionately and heartily to us and our service. Upon this occasion, many of those who were then passed by, and are now principal covenanters, seeing others advanced to degrees of honour above themselves, began then presently to mutter, but not to mutiny until we were gone from thence." P. 11, 15.

sanction of the General Assembly had been obtained to a proposal for compiling a Liturgy, as also for constructing a regular code of ecclesiastical law. But the governors of the Church, warned by certain tokens of popular aversion to any sudden change in their worship or discipline, had willingly availed themselves of the indifference to Scottish affairs which marked the closing years of that monarch, and permitted the former usages to continue. The English service, it is true, was introduced into the chapel royal, and occasionally into some of the cathedrals and colleges; but, in the country at large, the officiating clergy appear to have adopted the mixed method which prevails at the present day in many of the reformed congregations abroad; reading a portion of the prayers contained in the Book of Common Order, and adding an extemporaneous address suitable to the circumstances of the nation, or of their particular flocks. The devotional part of the Sunday duty, it is admitted, was performed in a very slovenly manner, and seems indeed to have occupied only a slender share of public attention. "Preachers, and readers, and ignorant schoolmasters prayed in the Church; sometimes so ignorantly, as it was a shame to all religion to have the majesty of God so barbarously spoken unto; sometimes so seditiously, that their prayers were plain libels, girding at sovereignty and authority; or lies, being stuffed with all the false reports in the kingdom<sup>1</sup>."

In 1633, when Charles made his first visit to his northern dominions, the scheme was resumed of pre-

<sup>1</sup> Large Declaration, p. 16.

paring Canons and a Book of Common Prayer for the Church of Scotland. This task was committed to several of the native prelates, who, in the course of their work, were desired to communicate with Laud and Wren, the Bishops of London and Norwich. The canons were at first represented as a mere digest of the numerous Acts of Assembly passed since the Reformation, but which were not to be found in an authentic record, or any where in regular order ; and, in this point of view, it was universally acknowledged that such a compend of Church law, founded on the decisions of the supreme court, could not fail to be very advantageous. But it is manifest, that, in order to accomplish the end proposed by this abridgment of the ecclesiastical statutes, it was necessary that the abstract formed by the episcopal committee should be submitted to the representatives of the clergy, either at their diocesan synods, or in the national convocation. A less constitutional method was, however, adopted, which, without any respect to the import of the canons, was calculated to give just grounds of offence. The only sanction thought necessary was a royal proclamation, by which at the same time obedience was enjoined upon the parochial ministers, and authority conveyed to the Bishops to enforce due compliance. By an unfortunate anachronism, too, the clergy were thereby bound to approve and receive the Liturgy, although it had not yet issued from the press ; the contents of which were consequently altogether unknown, except to the few individuals who were employed in its compilation.

(1636.) No complaints, however, were uttered against the injunctions contained in the canons, con-

sidered merely as the standard of Church government, though fears may have been entertained as to the tendency of the despotic manner in which they were introduced. The prudence of the Bishops, who did not rigidly urge an unqualified subscription, averted the evils which might have been apprehended from the irregularity of the procedure; while those on the other hand, who meditated opposition, waited for the appearance of the Common Prayer, which they doubted not would afford a much more tenable ground whereon to raise popular excitement<sup>1</sup>.

It had been originally proposed to adopt the English Liturgy, as ratified by Parliament in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and at once to extend the legal sanction to the Scottish Church. But the prelates, aware of the jealousy which rankled in the minds of their people, relative to the pretensions of their southern neighbours both on civil and ecclesiastical grounds, recommended that a few verbal alterations should be introduced; that the psalms, epistles, and gospels should be taken from the new translation of the Scriptures; and that the book should be announced as having been specially compiled for the use of their own establishment. The communion service, printed in the first Liturgy of Edward the Sixth, was also preferred; not only because it was

<sup>1</sup> The title of the Canons is as follows: "Canons and Constitutions Ecclesiastical; gathered and put in form, for the government of the Church of Scotland. Ratified and approved by his Majesty's Royal Warrant, and ordained to be observed by the Clergy and all whom they may concern. *Aberdeen*. Printed in the year 1636: Reprinted at *Edinburgh*, anno 1716, by William Adams, junior."



different from that inserted in the later editions of the Anglican ritual, but also on account of the better arrangement which it presents of the several prayers and addresses employed in the eucharistical office. Objections were taken to the revival of this order for administering the Lord's Supper, as approaching nearer to the forms of the Roman Church; and, though such strictures must have originated either in ignorance or malice, it was probably the part of wisdom to have avoided even so simple an occasion for provoking the spleen of those who had determined to find fault, and of giving countenance to the opposition of that more formidable class who sought only a pretext for making an attack on all the branches of the hierarchy<sup>1</sup>.

The same error which had rendered unpopular the introduction of the canons, was committed in imposing the use of the Liturgy. The clergy were not consulted; the nation in general was kept in ignorance till the royal mandate was issued; and no means were employed to prepare the feelings of the common people for a change to which, had it proceeded from their own pastors, they would, it is probable, have readily submitted. The King, in the work already mentioned, assigns various reasons for the expectation he entertained that the Prayer Book would be well received. He remarks, for example, that the Scotch, resident in England, or attending his court, who "for number were very considerable, and, for quality, of the very best," frequented the churches,

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, vol. i. p. 173. Oxford edition, 1819. Collier, vol. ii. p. 768.

and seemed pleased with the mode of worship ; thus affording to him a probable assurance that, at home, they would not denounce as absolutely unlawful and unchristian (as many of them did), a religious service in which they voluntarily engaged when abroad. The English Liturgy, moreover, during the long period of twenty years, had been regularly used in the chapel at Holyrood House, where divine service was attended not only by the privy council, the nobility, and judges, but also by the gentry, burgesses, women of all ranks, and by the clergy of all degrees. In conferring orders, too, the Bishops adhered to the forms prescribed in the English ritual ; and, when Charles himself was in the north, the Common Prayer was publicly read in all the churches to which he resorted, and approved by the presence of numerous audiences. As the Scottish Liturgy, for the daily service at least, was the same as that to which so many of the people had been accustomed, he did not anticipate any marked aversion on their part, far less the decided hostility which it was doomed to encounter when actually introduced under his authority<sup>1</sup>.

To these considerations Charles might have added the fact, which has been elsewhere mentioned, that the citizens of Edinburgh, ever since the Reforma-

<sup>1</sup> Large Declaration, p. 19. The King says, " Disobedience to this our proclamation we had little reason to expect, because this Service-book was no new thing unto them ; for it not differing from the English Service-book in any material point, and we supposing that the English neither was nor could be displeasing to them, did likewise conceive that this book should be as little disliked by them."

tion, were used to liturgical service in their public worship. Even on the morning of the celebrated 23rd of July, as already noticed, prayers were read in the cathedral church of St. Giles : whence it may be inferred, that the tumult created among the populace had an origin very different from any nice distinctions in the doctrine of the sacrament, or from weighing with minute accuracy the comparative advantages of precomposed and extemporaneous addresses at the footstool of the heavenly grace.

(1637.) But conjecture on this subject is superseded by the evidence of facts. It has never been doubted, that the multitude, on this occasion, were incited by the party who afterwards assumed the direction of affairs, when the banner of insurrection was openly unfurled, the hierarchy assailed, and the power of the King set at defiance, or treated with contempt. Sundry disaffected noblemen, aided by a few of the popular ministers, planned the attack with so much skill, that the rejection of the Liturgy, so soon as it should be used in public, was rendered certain<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Guthrie (Memoirs, p. 20) remarks, that the "tumult was taken to be but a rash emergent, without any pre-deliberation ; whereas the truth is, it was the result of a consultation at Edinburgh, in April, at which time Mr. Alexander Henderson came thither from his brethren in Fife, and Mr. David Dick from those in the west country ; and these two having communicated to my Lord Balmerinoch and Sir Thomas Hope the minds of those they came from, and gotten their approbation thereto, did afterwards meet at the house of Nicholas Balfour, in the Cowgate, with Nicholas, Eupham Henderson, Bathia and Elspet Craig, and several other matrons ; and recommended to them that they and their adherents might give the first affront to the Book, assuring them that *men* would afterwards take the business out of their hands."

The royal proclamation directed, that on Easter day, 1637, the service-book should be used for the first time in all the churches of the Scottish metropolis ; and had this order been strictly obeyed, the result would probably have been more favourable than it afterwards proved. But various reasons were suggested for delay, arising from prudential motives on the part of some of the King's servants, and from disaffection or treason on the part of others. The more aged prelates, whose fears could not be pronounced groundless, were desirous that a longer period should be allowed for conciliating the minds of the people ; while Sir Thomas Hope, the Lord Advocate, adopted the same views " from his wish that the presbyterians, whose cause he espoused, might be better prepared for opposition." Whatever were the inducements which influenced the members of the Privy Council, the suspicion that their caution arose from weakness or timidity, encouraged the discontented party to persevere in their scheme of resistance ; being convinced that the executive government would not have suspended a royal mandate, had they been both able and willing to carry it into operation<sup>1</sup>.

But the intentions of the popular leaders were in the meantime kept profoundly secret. When, on the 16th of July, notice was given from the pulpits, that the new Liturgy would be introduced the following Sunday, no signs of displeasure appeared, either among the ministers or their congregations.

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. ii. p. 370. Guthrie's History of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 226.

On the contrary, all the clergymen, with a single exception, not only complied with the order of the Archbishop to announce the service-book to their flocks, but, generally speaking, enlarged upon its excellence as a sound and judicious compilation.

These appearances of approbation and acquiescence deceived completely the higher order of churchmen, as well as the sincere members of the Privy Council. No precautions, therefore, were used to obviate or suppress any movement on the side of the multitude. The shouts and execrations accordingly with which the Liturgy was received on the morning of Sunday, the 23d of July, were not less unexpected than they were appalling and disgraceful. The Dean who read, and the Bishop who, from the pulpit, attempted to address the infuriated rabble, narrowly escaped with their lives<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "No sooner was the service begun," says Bishop Guthrie, "but a multitude of wives and serving women in the several churches rose in a tumultuous way, and having prefaced a while with despicable exclamations, threw the stools they sat on at the preachers, and thereafter invaded them more nearly, and strove to pull them from their pulpits, whereby they had much ado to escape their hands and retire to their houses. And for the Bishop, against whom their wrath was most bent, the magistrates found difficulty enough to rescue him; and when they had brought him without the church, he was yet in danger to have been murdered in the street, had not (by Providence) the Earl of Roxburgh received him into his coach, which drove so quickly that they could not overtake them." *Memoirs*, p. 20.

The account given by Principal Baillie, who was also a contemporary, and on the presbyterian side, does not differ much from that now quoted.

"On the Sunday morning, when the Bishop and his dean in the great church, and the Bishop of Argyle in the Greyfriars,

The principal tumult took place in the cathedral, but scenes nearly similar were witnessed in several other churches. The exclamations of the mob expressed their dread of popery, which they had been sedulously taught to identify with the ritual of the new service-book, which, as yet, they had neither seen nor heard. But it is worthy of notice, that the great body of the clergy had no share in the secret plans and open violence by which the capital was at this time disturbed. The episcopal establishment, under sundry modifications, had now subsisted more than thirty years; the longest period of repose and order that had passed since the Reformation. The condition of the parochial ministers had also been greatly improved by the wise regulations enforced by the King, who, at the expense of the rapacious titulars, had secured for them an equitable proportion of the tithes. The rule of the Bishops, too, had, upon the whole, been mild and considerate; tending to discourage all irritating controversy on points of discipline, and more especially on theories of Church government. Hence the ministers, in most parts of the country, had ceased to regret the agitation of their periodical Assemblies, and the fierce invectives which their leading orators were wont to pronounce

began to officiate, as they speak, incontinent the serving-maids began such a tumult as was never heard of since the Reformation in our nation. However, no wound was given to any: yet such were the contumelies, in words, in clamours, runnings, and flinging of stones in the eyes of the magistrates and Chancellor himself, that a little opposition would infallibly have moved that enraged people to have rent sundry of the Bishops in pieces." *Letters and Journals*, vol. i. p. 5.

on the personal faith of the Sovereign, or on the policy pursued by his cabinet. Some of them, no doubt, were desirous that the official power of the prelates should be more accurately defined, and, perhaps, more narrowly restricted in its operation ; but it is manifest, nevertheless, that the great majority of incumbents had no wish to raise their voices against the Bishops, nor to disturb the ecclesiastical constitution, as it was then administered. Nor were their feelings, in regard to the expediency of a fixed form of worship, less in harmony with those of their superiors. Even in Edinburgh, at that time the focus of insurrection, only one clergyman was hostile to the Liturgy ; and, at a later period, when the Covenant was established, not more than two would sign it. The others, persisting in their loyalty, were compelled to resign their charges, and retire from the city.

It is absurd to draw from the conduct of the mob, any general conclusion in regard to the sentiments of the more sober and better informed class of people. The violence of the attack proves nothing more than the ferocity of the individuals who made it, and the skilful tactics of the leaders by whom it was devised. An assault upon a cathedral, or the burning of a city, affords no sure criterion whereby to estimate the principles of the great body of the inhabitants, who merely witness such occurrences, and possess not the means of preventing them.

This achievement of the multitude, however, was highly extolled by the fanatical ministers, who compared them, as an instrument in the hand of God, to Balaam's ass, which, though naturally dumb and

stupid, had its mouth miraculously opened to upbraid the error of the prophet. The passionate women, who assailed the Bishops and thirsted for their blood, were magnified as the most heroical spirits that the Almighty had raised up in the latter days, and as deserving of a memorial with the remotest posterity. But Principal Baillie, who was privy to their proceedings, does not so highly applaud their temper and motives. "There never was," says he, "in our land, such an appearance of a stir. The whole people think popery at the doors. The scandalous pamphlets which come daily new from England, added fuel to this flame. No man may speak any thing in public for the King's party, except he would have himself marked for a sacrifice to be killed one day. I think our people possessed with a bloody devil, far above any thing that I could ever have imagined, though the mass in Latin had been presented. The ministers who have the command of their mind, disavow their unchristian humour, but are no way so zealous against the devil of their fury, as they are against the seducing spirit of the Bishops. For myself, I think, God, to revenge the crying sins of all estates and professions, which no example of our neighbours' calamities would move us to repent, is going to execute his long-denounced threatenings, and to give us over unto madness, that we every one may shoot our sword in our neighbours' hearts. Our dregs are like to be more bitter than was the brim of God's cup either to the French or Dutch<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Large Declaration, p. 31. Letters and Journals, vol. i. p. 10.



The magistrates of Edinburgh, either ignorant themselves of the true cause whence this commotion arose, or desirous to deceive the King, ascribed it entirely to the rascal multitude, the scum of the populace, and gave ground to hope that the Liturgy would yet be quietly received. But the great interests and powerful influence, of which the recent movement was only a secondary indication, soon began to shew themselves in the persons of certain noblemen, who espoused the cause of the people. Various supplications were presented to the Privy Council, and even to his Majesty, praying relief from the imposition of the canons and Prayer Book. Thousands flocked to the capital with the view of intimidating the government, and driving the prelates from their seats at the council-board; and so rapidly did the spirit of insurrection spread among the citizens, that the heads of the civil administration soon found themselves under the necessity of applying to the popular lords for personal protection<sup>1</sup>.

At this stage, Charles ought either to have yielded all that was claimed by the insurgents, or to have compelled obedience by strength of hand. But it was characteristic of this unhappy monarch's reign, that his concessions ever came too late, while his coercive measures were prosecuted with so little vigour, as

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the magistrates of Edinburgh beseech his Grace "to intercede with his Majesty for the suspension of his prejudice to them, till they should manifest their duty to him, by inflicting exemplary punishment upon the chief offenders, and causing the Liturgy to be received and submitted to in all their churches." Clarendon, vol. i. p. 179.

only to excite against him a more determined opposition. He was at the same time miserably served by the individuals whom he had invested with the chief authority in Scotland. His Council were divided on the most important subjects; and the greater part of them, with professions of duty on their lips, were secretly pleased with the increasing symptoms of hostility to the Bishops, whose power they disliked or envied. Besides, there is reason to believe, that the Scotch who frequented the English court contributed not a little to confirm the misapprehension under which the King laboured respecting the extent of the disturbance which agitated the northern provinces. They assured him that all was quiet, or would soon be so; and hence his Majesty could hardly allow himself to dread any serious resistance, until he found that all his condescensions had only occasioned a greater degree of insolence; that his offers were rejected; his proclamations slighted and contemned; and that measures were actually adopted for opposing him in the field<sup>1</sup>.

The contest began with a war of manifestos relative to the Canons, the Liturgy, the High Commission, and the Articles of Perth. Each royal proclamation was encountered on the very spot, and even in the presence of the heralds who read it, by a protestation at the instance of the disaffected lords; and, in the same degree in which Charles conceded the several points at issue, the confederates rose in

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon, vol. i. p. 179. "All those of that nation who attended upon his Majesty in his bedchamber, and in several offices at court, undertook to show, by their intelligences, that all was quiet, or would speedily be so."

their demands, until it became too obvious to be any longer concealed, that the interests of religion were only made a pretext for compassing other objects not yet fully avowed.

(1638.) Finding that they had exposed themselves to the charge of sedition, the presbyterian leaders determined to adopt an expedient by which the physical strength of their retainers might be rendered available, and the co-operation of the whole body permanently secured. They divided their numbers into four Boards or Tables, as they were technically called, agreeably to the corresponding ranks of nobility, gentlemen, ministers, and burgesses. Representatives from these sections again constituted a General Board, where all suggestions were received, and whence all orders were issued. Subsidiary tables or committees were appointed in the more important districts throughout the whole country; and, in this manner, the actual government of the kingdom was usurped much more effectually than when the Reformers, by an undisguised act of rebellion, withdrew their allegiance from the queen regent, the mother of Mary<sup>1</sup>.

But the sanction of religion was still wanting to consolidate this illegal combination. It was therefore resolved by the Tables to construct a covenant, whereby they might bind their followers to persevere in the undertaking upon which they had entered, and

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cook remarks, that the orders issued by this political body were implicitly obeyed, while "the warnings of the Council, though issued in the name and sanctioned by the approbation of the Sovereign, were disregarded or despised."

express a resolution to defend one another in all circumstances, and against all persons whatsoever. In a measure so nearly allied to treason, it was, however, deemed necessary to proceed with the utmost caution; and, as in certain states of mind the goodness of a cause is held to justify the worst means which may be employed to promote it, the authors of this scheme thought it not unworthy of them to have recourse to the basest deception. In the preceding reign, as formerly noticed, a Confession of Faith, abjuring the main articles of popery, was signed by his Majesty, and at his desire, by a great number of his Protestant subjects; and, at a later period, upon a petition of the General Assembly, it was again subscribed, having now added to it a bond or obligation for the maintenance of the true religion, and of the King's person. It was therefore agreed to retain the same title, and to represent the new covenant as the actual confession of faith, recommended by the sovereign and approved by the Church; "a piece of dissimulation, it has been remarked, which was not necessary to support the cause, and which afforded its enemies some ground for questioning the integrity of the zealous men by whom it was espoused<sup>1</sup>."

In this memorable deed, after binding themselves to prosecute its objects with their best counsel, their bodies, means, and whole power, they declare, "that whatsoever shall be done to the least of us for that cause, shall be taken as done to us all in general, and to every one of us in particular; and that we shall neither directly nor indirectly suffer ourselves

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. ii. p. 416.

to be divided or withdrawn by whatsoever suggestion, construction, allurements, or terror, from this blessed and loyal conjunction, nor shall cast in any let or impediment that may stay or hinder any such resolution, as by common consent shall be found to conduce for so good ends; but, on the contrary, shall by all lawful means labour to further and promote the same; and if any such dangerous and decisive motion be made to us by word or writ, we and every one of us shall either suppress it, or, if need be, shall incontinent make the same known, that it may be timeously obviated. Neither do we fear the foul aspersions of rebellion, combination, or what else our adversaries, from their craft or malice, would put on us, seeing what we do is well warranted, and ariseth from an unfeigned desire to maintain the true worship of God, the majesty of our King, and the peace of the kingdom, for the common happiness of ourselves and our posterity. And that this our union and conjunction may be observed without violation, we call the living God, the searcher of our hearts, to witness, who knoweth this to be our sincere desire and unfeigned resolution, as we shall answer to Jesus Christ at the great day, and under the pain of God's everlasting wrath, and of infamy, and of loss of all honour and respect in this world<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Large Declaration, p. 64. The reader will find some judicious remarks in this work, p. 66—75, on the difference between the two covenants.

Lord Clarendon, after condemning the duplicity of the Covenanters in publishing a new deed under an old title, remarks, that by "this imposition, people of all degrees, supposing it

It might seem harsh to maintain, that men, who used language so extremely solemn, were at the same time cherishing in their hearts a traitorous prevarication ; and yet nothing is more manifest, than that while they made the most ardent professions of loyalty, they were meditating positive rebellion ; and that, in the very act of renewing a religious bond, in virtue of which they promise to defend the government and person of the King, with their fortunes, bodies, and lives, they openly assume an obligation to accomplish certain ends, in avowed defiance of the royal wishes and authority, and against all sorts of persons whatsoever. Charles urged them to explain, whether in this description of their contingent enemies, they did not comprehend himself ; but they would not give him any satisfaction, nor consent to modify the terms so as to preclude the alarming inference that they had already conceived hostility against the crown<sup>1</sup>.

Besides, the covenanters could not fail to know that their conduct on this occasion was directly opposed to the law of the land, as expressed in several statutes still unrepealed. For instance, in the tenth parliament of James, it was enacted, “ That in time to come, no league nor bands be made among his

might be a means to extinguish the present fire, with all alacrity engaged themselves in it ; whereas, in truth, they had inserted a clause never before heard of, and quite contrary to the end of that (the first) covenant.” Vol. i. p. 178.

<sup>1</sup> Large Declaration, p. 70. Charles expresses his astonishment at the new Covenanters blowing hot and cold with the same breath, “ and in one sentence swearing to defend our person and authority, and yet, in the next, swearing to defend one another against all persons whatsoever, not excepting Us, if not principally intending Us.”

subjects of any degree, upon whatsoever colour or pretence, without his Highness's or his successors' privity and consent had and obtained thereunto, under the pain of being held and executed as movers of sedition and unquietness, to the breach and trouble of the public peace of the realm, and to be cited and pursued, therefore, with all rigour, to the example of others<sup>1</sup>."

The Covenant was signed with great zeal in the metropolis, as well as in the surrounding districts. In the remoter parts, however, it was more coolly received, especially at Aberdeen, where it was opposed with much ability by the clergymen and professors of that city. These divines asked by what authority they were required to sign it, as the persons who urged them to do so were not commissioned by his Majesty, the Privy Council, nor by any national assembly duly convened. They complained, too, that the Covenant, as now presented, was substantially different from the Confession of 1580; maintaining that subscription to it, in its new form, was contrary to their duty and allegiance. They stated other difficulties, which during the heat of faction were pronounced trifling or fallacious; but which, when coolly examined, are seen to reflect much credit on the judgment and moderation of those with whom they originated. But influence came to the aid of argument, and many persons, accordingly, yielding to a variety of motives, put their names or their marks to the "blessed and loyal conjunction<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Large Declaration, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> General Demands of the Doctors and Ministers of Aberdeen, &c. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 32.

The King, in the declaration which bears his name, maintains that the covenant was obtruded on many of the people with great intemperance; and that not only threatenings, but even actual violence, was employed against those clergymen who either refused to sign it themselves, or dissuaded their parishioners from such compliance. He intimates, moreover, that wounds were inflicted upon many of God's ministers, who, from conscientious motives or a feeling of loyalty, refused to join the combination into which so many of all ranks were hurried; stating his conviction that the plant could not be of heavenly origin, of which the first fruits were drops of righteous blood<sup>1</sup>.

The disaffected ministers, who appear to have gradually acquired strength in proportion as the weakness of the government became more manifest, acquired an accession to their numbers from certain brethren of Ireland; where their plans, being watched with greater vigilance by the civil power, were defeated for a time, and themselves compelled to seek refuge in North Britain. The noblemen, finding these exiles prepared for the most desperate measures, recommended that they should be forthwith provided with suitable livings, and placed in situations where their talents might be employed to the greatest advantage. The native clergy were disposed only to co-operate with the rebellious lords to a certain extent, and so far as their views might tend to reform

<sup>1</sup> Declaration, p. 75. It is remarked, that most of the foreign Protestants were scandalized at the Covenant, and thought it would bring an indelible disgrace on the Reformed Churches.



the Church, and would, it was generally known, abandon their cause as soon as they should encroach on the rights of sovereignty, or menace the personal safety of the King. The Irish presbyterians, whose notions were less contracted, were accordingly cherished as more convenient and effective instruments. They were planted in parishes throughout Ayrshire, Dumfries, and Galloway, "all being vacant by the flight of those who had served there, who for their disaffection to the covenant were so persecuted by the people, that they found no way to save their lives but by the present abandoning their country<sup>1</sup>."

Bishop Burnet makes a similar remark in regard to the sentiments of the clergy. A meeting of churchmen, to the number of a hundred and twenty, took place at Edinburgh, previous to the election of members for the approaching Assembly; but as it was found that "about four parts of five were only for limiting of episcopacy, it was resolved by the junto that none of these should be commissioners<sup>2</sup>."

Charles, perceiving that his Council in Scotland was rendered inefficient by the diversity of opinion which prevailed among the noblemen who composed it, resolved to send thither a representative invested with higher powers, and charged with more special instructions, than he had yet confided to that body. For this purpose he selected the Marquis of Hamilton, his relative and friend, whom he appointed his commissioner; hoping, that the gentle manners and popular principles of this distinguished chief would

<sup>1</sup> Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton, p. 69.

enable him to compose the differences which divided so many of his countrymen.

His Grace soon found, that the character which he bore, as the deputy of the Sovereign, would not protect him from insult and violence. The Tables had issued an order, that no one whose signature was affixed to the covenant should shew him any mark of respect. Even his own vassals and tenants were forbidden to meet him at the border, whence they meant to accompany him in his progress towards the capital ; and he accordingly arrived at the palace as little noticed as if he had been a private individual. When he suggested to the insurgent lords, that, as a preliminary to an amicable negotiation with the King, they should cease to acknowledge the obligations of the covenant, they replied, that they “ would sooner renounce their baptism ;” and when it became known that he intended to have divine service performed in the chapel royal according to the ritual of the English Church, practised there during a period of twenty years, these zealous nobles failed not to intimate to him, “ that the person who should dare to read prayers, should never read more ; and that a thousand men were ready to prevent it<sup>1</sup>.”

The war of proclamations and protestations was once more renewed, without any advantage to the royal cause. On the contrary, the covenanters advanced still higher pretensions, demanding a Parliament and an Assembly, and threatening, in case of refusal, to summon them on their own authority. At length the King was induced to cancel the order for

<sup>1</sup> Large Declaration, p. 88—109.

introducing the Canons and Liturgy ; to abolish the Court of High Commission ; and to suspend the Articles of Perth until they should receive the approval of the legislature and the Church.

At this stage the confederates were seriously alarmed, lest the country should be satisfied, and confidence restored. To counteract the influence of the covenant, Charles had been advised to circulate for subscription among his Scottish subjects the real Confession, drawn up at the command of his father, with the original bond annexed to it. The presbyterian lords exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the success of this measure. They propagated by their emissaries and inculcated by their most popular preachers, the suspicion that the King was not sincere ; and they alarmed the consciences of the multitude by maintaining that all who, having previously signed their covenant, should now subscribe the one tendered by the royal commissioner, would render themselves guilty of perjury.

For increasing the effect of their arguments, too, they had recourse to artifices which it is painful to think were countenanced by men who professed the most sacred regard for the purity of the Gospel. A woman, named Mitchelson, ardently attached to the covenant, was so far overcome by enthusiasm or disease, as to pretend to inspiration. When the fit was on her, she declaimed vehemently against the King's Confession, and represented the other Deed as the work of God. Her words were recited as oracles, and many persons took them from her mouth in short-hand. People of the best quality flocked to see her in her paroxysms ; and being conveyed to

the house of a noted covenanter, she was accommodated with a large bedchamber, which was always crowded to the doors. She was called an impostress, says Bishop Burnet, "but those who understood nature better knew the root of her distemper, which to have called it so at that time would have met with a high censure." Her ravings, notwithstanding, which were esteemed manifestations of the Divine Spirit, contributed not a little to exalt the covenant, and damp the ardour of loyalty among the friends of the King. Other devices, not less disgraceful, were invented to keep alive the prejudices of the people, and to prevent their return to confidence and submission<sup>1</sup>.

The commissioner, after a lengthened correspondence and several journeys to court, was authorized not only to make the concessions already mentioned, but also to proclaim an Assembly, to be held at Glasgow on the 21st November, and a parliament, which was to convene early in the following summer. The King had proposed two conditions for regulating the constitution of the former of these meetings, as well as for restricting its procedure to matters purely ecclesiastical. The first was, that the members to be

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's Memoirs, p. 83. "The joy which her auditors conceived for the comfort of such a messenger from heaven, and such messages as she delivered from thence, was many times expressed by them in tears, and by none more than Rollock (a minister), her special favourite, who being desired sometimes by the spectators to pray with her, and speak to her, answered, that he durst not do it, as being no good manners in him to speak while his Master was speaking in her." *Declaration*, p. 227.

deputed by the several presbyteries, should be elected solely by their brethren, the clergy, and without any mixture of lay votes; the second was, that the Assembly should not interfere with any laws or institutions which belonged to the proper cognizance and decision of the three Estates of the legislature, regularly summoned by royal authority.

It is not easy to imagine terms at once so reasonable and moderate; but the lords of the covenant being aware that the majority of the ministers were opposed to the sweeping changes to which their counsels tended, objected to the proposal as inconsistent with the freedom of election. His Majesty, on the other hand, was satisfied that, if the representatives of the Church were returned by the clergy, he should have nothing to fear, at least in regard to the principles of the ecclesiastical constitution; for although some of them were dissatisfied with the actual administration of affairs, there was no general desire to depart from the polity which had been so long established. Were any proof wanting to confirm this statement, it would be supplied by a reference to the unwonted and unconstitutional means which were, in fact, found necessary to exclude the more grave and temperate of the clerical brethren. Contrary to the opinion and even the remonstrances of the ministers, an arrangement was concerted by which every parish sent to the presbytery a lay elder, as well as the spiritual incumbent; each of whom was invested with equal powers, whether to deliberate or to vote. Accordingly, as the several clergymen proposed for members did not give their voice in the election, the elders possessed a constant majority;

whence it followed that the commissioners returned to the Assembly in the name of the several presbyteries, were in reality chosen by laymen, most of whom were openly devoted to the covenant.

The insurgent lords, it has been observed, objected to the conditions proposed by the King, as abridging the freedom of the great national court. But, notwithstanding this expression of regard for constitutional liberty, they thought it perfectly allowable in themselves to send to all the presbyteries certain directions for choosing their members; infringing thereby on the privileges of the Assembly to a much greater extent, than had ever been meditated by the government. Among the regulations forwarded by the Tables is the following: "That such as are erroneous in doctrine or scandalous in life be presently processed, that they be not chosen commissioners; and if they shall happen to be chosen by the greater part, that all the best affected, both ministers and elders, protest and come to the Assembly to testify the same<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Large Declaration, pp. 129, 130. Burnet's Memoirs, pp. 85, 86. Bishop Guthrie (Memoirs, p. 39), relates, that "lest their private instructions should be publicly known, whereby their adversaries might esteem them prelimitations, and upon that account impugn the freedom of the Assembly; therefore, at the receiving of them, the brethren of each presbytery took an oath of secrecy, which was very ill kept, for, before the Assembly met, they were talked of every where, and brought to my lord commissioner's knowledge." Dr. Cook adopts the same views. "*Secret* instructions relating to this were sent from the Tables to the presbyteries; the right of lay elders to vote for representatives was again earnestly urged; and although in several places this was steadily resisted, yet the faction succeeded in obtaining

In pursuance of their object, it is related, that there were few ministers in the kingdom, not subscribers to the covenant, whom they did not presently process and cite before their several presbyteries; and, in defiance of appeals to the approaching Assembly, deprived them of their parochial charges, and even inflicted the severest censures. It was in vain that the commissioner and Privy Council interposed in behalf of the oppressed clergy; entreating that their appeals to the higher court might be respected, and their trials suspended a few weeks. Among the victims of their malignity was the Rev. David Mitchel, one of the incumbents of the city, who was challenged for certain doctrines which he is said to have maintained in a sermon preached at the distance of four years. The witnesses were all laymen, and of such mean understandings that it was considered next to impossible they should either remember or comprehend the disputed topics, or even be able to decide whether he was attempting to support or refute them. The marquis wrote to the presbytery of Edinburgh, begging that they would delay sentence until the Assembly, to which Mitchel had appealed, should convene, and have the case regularly before them. They did not vouchsafe an answer to his letter, either by message or otherwise. He wrote again, and asked a conference with some of the members, in order that he might hear their reasons for not granting time and a fair trial. They took no notice of his communica-

the return of a decided majority friendly to their schemes, and determined to support them." Vol. ii. p. 455. Principal Baillie relates that "thirty-nine presbyteries had chosen their commissioners *as they were desired*." Vol. i. p. 82.

tion. At length the Privy Council addressed to them a warrant, requiring them, in the King's name, and under the pains of law, to desist from any farther proceedings until the meeting of Assembly, which was to take place in fourteen days. This they also treated with contempt; but when they had deposed Mitchel, they sent three of their number to acquaint the lord commissioner with what they had done.

The object contemplated by this prosecution is perfectly manifest, and at the same time illustrates an expedient which was repeatedly adopted by the covenanters during their contest with the crown. Whenever they encountered opposition from any individuals or class of men, they commenced an attack upon their reputation, charged them with grievous offences; insisted that they should in the meanwhile be deposed from their offices; and undertaking, at some future period, to adduce proof of their guilt. For example, a few months prior to the epoch now under consideration, offence was taken by the presbyterian leaders at the conduct of Sir Robert Spotswood, President of the Court of Session, and of Sir John Hay, the clerk register, who are described as enemies to the covenant, and well affected towards episcopal government. The Tables, accordingly, sent a deputation to the Marquis of Hamilton, charging these two judges with bribery and corruption, and entreating him to remove them both from their places; after which the accusers would open a regular action, and legally proceed in the probation of the crimes alleged against them. The commissioner, after reminding them that a step so glaringly preposterous, would overthrow the very foundation and



main rule of justice, assured them that if they could prove the guilt which they had specified, punishment would be inflicted to the very extremity of law ; and added, that the King, so far from interposing any bar to the trial or sentence of such offenders, would consider their conviction as a great service rendered to himself. The deputation, who expected a refusal, nevertheless, gained their object, by exciting in the public mind suspicion and distrust. They replied, that the resolution not to dismiss the President and Clerk Register, would be attended with much inconvenience, as the Tables were determined to publish a protestation, declaring that "whatsoever act, decree, or order, the lords of session should make in any cause, at which these two judges, or either of them, were present and gave voice, should be null and void in law, and that no person should be bound to yield obedience to them." It is unnecessary to add, that the process was never begun<sup>1</sup>.

By a similar stratagem, they attempted to drive the Bishops from the council board. They recommended the same device to their adherents in the presbyteries ; instructing them to raise a process against all who were erroneous in doctrine, or scandalous in life—phrases which were perfectly understood—and, in the event of such persons being regularly elected, to enter a protest, and thereby prevent them from occupying their seats in the Assembly, until the charges of error and scandal should be considered. The attack on the prelates, whom they wished to deter from appearing in that supreme judicatory,

<sup>1</sup> Large Declaration, pp. 93, 94.

will be mentioned anon, as a striking example of the furious injustice which the spirit of party occasionally leads political opponents to inflict upon one another.

When the day appointed for the meeting of the Assembly drew near, the Bishops, who clearly foresaw the issue, recommended to the commissioner the expediency of proroguing it. But the marquis, who probably had as little hope of a favourable result as their Reverences, hesitated about adopting a resolution which might seem to violate the pledge given to the covenanters. Besides, there was no longer any doubt that the leaders of the faction would convene the members elected by the presbyteries, whether the royal assent were given or refused, and proceed to the overthrow of the established Church, the fate of which was already determined. To remove all uncertainty on this head, it was only necessary to recollect, that the Tables had issued to the presbyteries an order for choosing their representatives before the Assembly was legally indicted in the name of the sovereign. Nor would the character and proceedings of that celebrated convention have been much more irregular or unconstitutional than they actually were, although the commissioner had refused his presence<sup>1</sup>.

Having, by means of their personal influence and

<sup>1</sup> Principal Baillie, in a letter to a friend, remarks, "It is much feared that he go to court, and leave us the ruling of the Assembly as we please; but if he should do so, we are resolved to keep the Diet, and expect God to be with us, when we use our right in so needful a time." Vol. i. p. 84.

the activity of their agents in the primary courts, secured a decided majority, the lords of the covenant next employed their ingenuity to devise means for expelling the Bishops from the Assembly, or at least for depriving them of their votes. With this intention, Rothes and some of his allies applied to the marquis for a warrant to cite the prelates before that ecclesiastical body, to answer to such charges as might be brought against them. His Grace resolutely declined to accede to a proposal so manifestly opposed both to law and usage; adding, however, that he would not exert his official authority to protect the obnoxious churchmen against the issue of a fair trial<sup>1</sup>.

Disappointed in this quarter, they had recourse to the presbytery of Edinburgh, who instantly gave a warrant for what Burnet calls the most scandalous summons that was ever heard of in the Christian Church. They cited all the Bishops to appear at the bar of the Assembly, as being chargeable with the guilt of heresy, simony, perjury, incest, adultery, fornication, and breach of the sabbath; to which were annexed suspicion of Arminianism, popery, and card-playing. This bill or complaint was ordered to be read in all the churches of the metropolis; but the resolution for this purpose was carried so secretly, that intelligence of it did not reach the marquis till the Saturday evening immediately preceding the publication. He instantly sent orders, requiring the ministers to desist from their calumny, under pain of treason; a threat which was no longer formidable to

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 88. *Large Declaration*, p. 207.

the supporters of the covenant. The summons was accordingly read as directed by the presbytery; and further instructions, communicated by the Tables, to publish it in all the kirks of Scotland, were in many parts strictly obeyed<sup>1</sup>.

In this violent measure, the ministers of Edinburgh violated not only the spirit of the Gospel, but also the rules of their own communion. They paid no attention to the limits by which their jurisdiction was defined; made no inquiry as to the rights of the persons who appeared as complainers; examined no evidence to satisfy themselves whether the charges against the prelates were founded in fact, or were merely the malignant libels of a heated faction; but at once announced the imputation to the world, as a just and lawful ground of proceeding. Besides, they applied to their antagonists the epithet of pretended Bishops; thus deciding against the positive statutes

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *Memoirs*, p. 88. Declaration, p. 209—220, where the bill and complaint is inserted at length. It is remarkable, that though this calumny on the bishops is signed by upwards of fifty lords, barons, and burgesses, not more than five ministers could be induced to give their names.

"We shall desire the reader," says King Charles (p. 207), "to observe their proceedings in one process, which we are confident was framed and pursued with such malice, injustice, falsehood, and scandal, not only to the reformed religion in particular, but to the Christian religion in general, as it cannot be paralleled by any precedent of injustice in preceding ages, nor (we hope) shall ever be followed in future; and which if it were known among Turks, pagans, or infidels, would make them abhor the Christian religion, if they did think it would either countenance or could consort with such abominable impiety and injustice."

of the legislature, and the ordinances of General Assemblies, which had never by any competent authority been declared irregular. "The archbishops and bishops," says a modern annalist, "had under the former reign been constituted by parliament the governors of the Church; their titles had been given to them by successive Assemblies; and, if we justify the manner in which their enemies now acted towards them, we must do so on the ground that force is right, and that any faction which is able to subvert the government, may, without any violation of duty, accomplish its subversion<sup>1</sup>."

The unreasonable conduct of the covenanters, especially their protest against the conditions implied in the royal proclamation for calling an Assembly, opened the eyes of many, who now began to suspect that the leaders had more in their design than they had yet thought proper to profess. But the latter carried matters with so high a hand, that none had the courage to resist. All went along treading in their path, though with a secret reluctance; and numbers who abhorred the covenant in their hearts, nevertheless co-operated, or rather complied with the noblemen who supported it, urged by the fear of their resentment<sup>2</sup>.

At Glasgow, for example, the royal concessions were received with great satisfaction. One of the covenanters relates, that he found "the danger was greater than he feared." The proclamation, he adds, was "applauded to by the town by too many with too

<sup>1</sup> Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 457

<sup>2</sup> Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 37.

much joy, without any number of protesters; the ministry standing in the cross with a number of non-covenanters, joining in all the tokens of their joy, and concurring all in writing of the letter of thanks to the marquis."—"I found them perempter for the equity of subscribing the King's covenant, and the iniquity of our counter-protestation, also very averse from choosing commissioners (to the Assembly), according to our mind." Aberdeen, too, the third city in the kingdom, was equally hostile to the designs of the confederates. The loyalty and learning of the inhabitants were at first successfully exerted against the covenant, but at length the multitude were corrupted by some of the popular preachers, and intimidation, as usual, secured for them a final triumph. "I hope," says the writer just quoted, "that the town of Aberdeen is now likewise gained; for the Crafts obtained, *by threats*, that all their magistrates and council, according to the act of boroughs, should be chosen of covenanters<sup>1</sup>."

It was, moreover, resolved by the anti-episcopal party, to overawe their opponents by the muster of a large force at Glasgow, under the appearance of a suitable escort to the noblemen and gentry. The Tables considered that such a guard to the Assembly would be advantageous in many respects, and more especially as it would make it "terrible to gainsayers<sup>2</sup>." To create a pretext, however, for bringing together such a body of armed men, a rumour was circulated, that certain robbers in the Highlands had taken the field, and might probably descend from

<sup>1</sup> Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. i. pp. 82, 83.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing new under the sun!

their fastnesses to assail the defenceless clergy and other commissioners, while journeying from their respective parishes. The King's friends were not insensible to the effects which might be produced by the presence of a warlike multitude. They accordingly issued a proclamation that none should come to the place of Assembly but such as were members, and that in a peaceable manner. The covenanters protested, as a matter of course, maintaining, "that all might come who had interest of party, witnesses, voters, assessors, complainers, or whatever way; and that every man might come with such a retinue and equipage as the lords of Council should give example." Hence the nobles and barons arrived from different parts of the country, backed with great numbers of relatives and vassals<sup>1</sup>.

No one, therefore, can be surprised at the remark of Bishop Burnet, who relates, that the Marquis of Hamilton found at Glasgow the greatest confluence of people that perhaps ever met in these parts of Europe, at an Assembly. "He judged it was a sad sight to see such a meeting, for not a gown was among them all; but many had swords and daggers about them<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Baillie, vol. i. pp. 93, 94.

<sup>2</sup> Memoirs, p. 93. The spirit and manners which distinguished the majority of those who crowded this renowned convention, cannot be better described than in the words of Principal Baillie, who himself was present, and has left an interesting account of its proceedings. "On Wednesday, the 21st November, with much ado could we throng into our places, an evil which troubled us much the first fourteen days of our sitting. The magistrates, with their town-guard, the noblemen, with the assistance of the gentry, whilst the commissioner in person could not get

The commissioners, properly so called, amounted to about two hundred and sixty, comprehending the ministers and elders deputed by the several presbyteries. But there were, besides, a great number of assessors, who, though they claimed not any right to vote, were permitted to join in the deliberations of the Assembly. Of the former class, it is asserted, there were some who could neither read nor write, who nevertheless deemed themselves fully qualified to decide on the most obscure doctrines connected with the Arminian controversy, free-will, predestination, and the powers of grace. It is alleged by the biographers of Lord Hamilton, that, owing to the resistance made by him to their violent measures, they threatened to seize his person, and even to take away his life ; a charge for which there does not, however,

us entry to our rooms, use what force, what policy they could, without such delay of time, and thrusting through, as grieved and offended us. Whether this evil be common to all nations, at all public confluences, or if it be proper to the rudeness of our nation alone, or, whether in these late times, admiration of this new reformation, has at all public meetings stirred up a greater than ordinary zeal in the multitude to be present for hearing and seeing, or what is the special cause of this irremediable evil, I do not know ; only I wish it remedied above any evil that I ever knew in the service of God among us. It is here alone, I think, we might learn from Canterbury, yea, from the Pope, yea, from the Turks or Pagans, modesty and manners ; at least, their deep reverence in the house they call God's, ceases not till it have led them to the adoration of the stones and timber of the place. We are here so far the other way, that our rascals, without shame, in great numbers, make such din and clamour in the house of the true God, that if they minted (offered) to use the like behaviour in my chamber, I would not be content till they were down stairs." Vol. i. p. 96.



appear the slightest evidence in any other record of their transactions<sup>1</sup>.

As the Bishops, by a regular deed, had declined the authority and jurisdiction of this meeting, it was not to be expected that they would attend, either to assert their rights, or to refute the malicious charges which had been levelled at their characters. The primate, apprehensive that the popular fury might be directed against him, had removed into England; and that his fears were not altogether groundless may be concluded, as well from the proposal made at Stirling, a few months before, to put him to a violent death, as from a letter directed to Johnston, the clerk of the Assembly, which is inserted below<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's Memoirs, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> "For Mr. Archibald Johnston, of Wariston, Advocate.

"Dear Christian Brother and courageous Protestant,— Upon some rumour of the Prelate of St. Andrew's his coming over the water, and finding it altogether inconvenient that he or any of that kind should shew themselves peaceably in public, some course was taken how he might be entertained in such places as he should come unto; we are now informed that he will not come, but that Broughen (Breachin) is in Edinburgh, or thereabout; it is the advice of your friends here, that in a private way some course may be taken for his terror and disgrace, if he offer to shew himself in public. Think upon the best r—— by the advice of your friends there. I fear that this public appearance at Glasgow shall be prejudicial to our cause. We are going to take order with his chief supporters there, Gladstones, Scrimgeour, and Haliburton. Wishing you both protection and direction from your Master, I continue your own whom you know.

"G."

"28th October, 1638."

What odd notions of justice and religion must those men have

The declinature of the prelates is founded on the following objections, urged both against the character of the individuals who composed the Assembly, and also the mode in which they had been elected, as the representatives of the Church. They lay great stress upon the fact, that the Tables, previous to the issuing of the royal proclamation, had given orders to the presbyteries to choose commissioners; and hence that, as the members returned by the ministers were actually elected under the latter warrant, they were not called together by the authority of the King. They strengthen this plea by alluding to the unconstitutional interference of the lay elders in the presbyterial elections, by which at once the clergy were deprived of their right, and the qualifications of the deputies, thus irregularly named, were legally vitiated. "In effect," say they, "the commissioners for the clergymen are chosen by laymen, contrary to all order, decency, and custom observed in the Christian world, and nowise according to the custom of this Church, which they pretend to follow; the presbyteries formerly never associating to themselves lay-elders in the election of commissioners to the General Assembly, but only for their assistance in discipline and correction of manners." They maintain, besides, that most of the persons returned were unworthy, and incapable of a place in a lawful assembly, because, by their seditious railings and sermons, they had stirred up the people to rebellion, had shewn themselves enemies to all

had, who, in devising schemes of violence, and perhaps of assassination, could recommend one another to the direction and protection of God!

order in the Church ; had violated the oaths taken to their ordinaries, and had exercised their function irregularly as ministers of religion <sup>1</sup>."

But the main objection of the Bishops respected the avowed determination of the Assembly to condemn the episcopal order, and overthrow the establishment. " If these pretended commissioners, both lay and ecclesiastical, were lawfully authorized (as it is evident they are not), -and for none other cause declinable, yet the law doth admit, that justly a judge may be declined who is probably suspect ; and of all probabilities this is the most pregnant, when the judge, before he come to judgment, doth give sentence of those things he hath to judge. This made our Reformers' protestation against the Council of Trent valid, and their non-compearing justifiable, because Leo the Tenth had pre-condemned Luther, as appeared by his bull, dated June, 1520. And, so it is, the most part, if not all of the said commissioners, directed to this meeting, have pre-condemned episcopal government ; and condemned, or at least suspended obedience to the acts of the General Assembly and Parliament concerning the Five Articles of Perth ; have approven their covenant as most necessary to be embraced of all in this kingdom ; and not only have given judgment of these things beforehand, but by most solemn oaths have bound themselves to defend and stand to the same." Alluding to the

<sup>1</sup> The instructions or missives of Tables for choosing members of Assembly, were dated early in September, whereas his Majesty's warrant was not published till the 22d of that month. *Large Declaration*, p. 249.

charges brought against them in the bill, or Complaint, lodged with the presbytery of Edinburgh, they remark, "But it is without example uncharitable and illegal, that under the pretext of summons (the like whereof was never used, nor in the like manner, against the most heinous malefactors in the kingdom), they have devised, forged, vented, and published a most infamous and scurrile libel, full of impudent lies and malicious calumnies, against the Archbishops and Bishops of this Church." "We charge their consciences in the sight of God, as they must answer before his great and fearful tribunal, if they suspect and know not perfectly, according to the judgment of charity, them whom they thus accuse to be free of those crimes wherewith they charge them, at least many of them. By which informal and malicious proceeding, it is most apparent, that our said parties (opponents) do seek our disgrace and overthrow, most maliciously and illegally. And therefore we call heaven and earth to witness, if this be not a barbarous and violent persecution that, all circumstances being considered, hath few or none to parallel it since the beginning of Christianity; and if we have not just cause to decline the said pretended commissioners as our party<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> The covenanters had so ingeniously connected drinking, profane speaking, and card-playing, with heresy, perjury, incest, and adultery, that the Bishops found some difficulty in making a flat and entire denial. For under profane speaking seems to be included "mocking of the power of preaching;" and perhaps some of the prelates may have occasionally indulged a severe remark on the absurdity of popular declamation, as then not unfrequently practised by certain of the more zealous brethren.

Towards the close they say, " We protest in the sight of God, to whom one day we must give account, that we make use of this declinature out of the conscience of our duty to God and his Church, and not out of fear of any guiltiness whereof any of us is conscious to himself, either of wickedness in our lives, or miscarriage in our callings; being content every one of us, for our own particular (as we have never shewn ourselves to be otherwise), to render the lawful and most exact trial of any competent judicatory within this kingdom, or of his Majesty's high commissioner. We are so far from wishing hurt to any man in his person or estate, notwithstanding all the indignities and injuries we have suffered, that for quenching the present combustion, and settling peace in this Church and country, we could be content (after clearing of our innocence of all things where-with we can be charged) not only to lay down our bishoprics at his Majesty's feet, to be disposed of at his royal pleasure, but also, if so be it pleased God, to lay down our lives, and become a sacrifice for this atonement<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> The lords of the Tables were not without apprehension that some of the ministers whom they instructed to read, from their pulpits, the libel against the Bishops, might object to the charges in point of fact. They reason down this difficulty as follows: " Perhaps some minister within the presbytery may think some heads of this Complaint not to be relevant in his opinion, or know the Bishop not to be guilty of all the particular heads contained therein; yet he, in justice, cannot refuse to refer the trial of the relevancy and probation thereof to the General Assembly." That is, they thought it eminently advantageous to the cause of evangelical truth and equity, that a dignified clergyman should be denounced in all the parishes of the kingdom, as a

When the Assembly met, several protests were produced against its legality, as a convention of the Church, signed by clergymen in different parts of the country. Of one, which is preserved in the Large Declaration, the object was to impugn the lawfulness of the meeting, on the ground that there were many lay-elders present, and also because the clerical commissioners had been elected by lay persons, contrary to the rule and practice of presbyteries on all former occasions. A protestation, said to have been expressed in very strong language, was presented by the presbytery of Glasgow, and placed in the hands of the Marquis of Hamilton, as the representative of majesty. But no sooner had the clerk begun to read it, than the Principal of the college desired that he might not be allowed to proceed, as one of the parties who had signed the document wished to withdraw it. The royal commissioner, who had in fact laid it on the table, requested that it might be read, as it was subscribed not only by the Principal himself, but also by the greater number of the ministers in the presbytery; and being presented unto him in all their names, it could not, he maintained, be recalled by any one of

most atrocious criminal ; holding themselves bound, in the meantime, to collect evidence of his guilt ! If they could not find it, of course he must be acquitted. They exhort the presbyteries to collect all the faults they can, and insert them in the blank copies of the complaint ; “ and if they cannot get the particulars presently ready, notwithstanding they present without any delay (because of the scarceness of the time) this Complaint, as it stands with the blanks, and, in the meantime, may gather any other particulars, against the Assembly, to which this Complaint is to be referred.”—*Large Declaration*, p. 255—258, where the directions to presbyteries are inserted at length.

them, without the consent of all the rest. This reasoning, however, made no impression. The Moderator, Mr. A. Henderson, decided, that the Principal alone had the right to withdraw it; and therefore it was neither read, nor restored to his Grace<sup>1</sup>.

Some time was spent in examining the commissions of the members; of which proceeding it may be sufficient to repeat a remark made at the time, that none were rejected who were favourable to the covenant. In fact, the Assembly only exhibited the Tables under a somewhat different form; the individuals who composed it being either the same who figured at the latter, or were chosen by their influence. The commissioner made a fruitless attempt to have the declinature of the Bishops read, before the

<sup>1</sup> "Our commissioner," says Charles I., "wondering that the Principal of the college should in public desire the forbearance of publishing the protestation of the presbytery of Glasgow, in the Assembly, used means to know the reason of it, and found, by the averment of persons of good credit, upon their own knowledge, that the night before, late at ten of the clock, the Lord Loudon and the Moderator, with diverse other covenanting ministers, had been with the Principal, and told him that the presbyterial protestation would make a great division amongst them, that unless he did withdraw it, he must never look to live quietly in Glasgow, nor any where in Scotland; that the Principal told them it was presented to our commissioner, from whom it was not possible to recover it; that then, by the same threatenings, they adjured him to desire the forbearance of reading of it, if it should be tendered to the Assembly; that after they were parted from him, his wife, all in tears, begged the like of him, affirming that the Lord Lindsay had been with her, and swore to her, that both he and his must be utterly ruined, if she could not prevail with him for recalling that protestation." P. 268.

meeting should proceed to business. "The uniform practice," says Dr. Cook, "was to refuse him every thing he required, leaving him to protest, and to see how little respect was paid to the wishes or authority of the King." Finding all his efforts vain, he determined to dissolve the Assembly; and, accordingly, when the Moderator put the question, whether, notwithstanding the declinature of the prelates, this ecclesiastical court could pass sentence upon them, he interposed, and, in an eloquent address, lamented that their conduct would no longer permit him to remain among them. After desiring his Majesty's concessions to be repeated, he pronounced that their legal sittings had reached their termination; declaring that their future proceedings, should they persist in meeting, should have no force nor efficacy in law. Next morning, by a regular proclamation at the market cross, he discharged the Assembly under pain of treason, and desired the members to disperse<sup>1</sup>.

This result had been distinctly foreseen by the lords of the covenant, who were prepared with a protest, expressing their resolution to continue their labours until they should accomplish the objects for which they had convened. They accordingly condemned the several Assemblies by which episcopacy had been sanctioned; released the ministers from the oaths which they had taken to their ecclesiastical superiors; deposed and excommunicated the two Archbishops, with the greater number of the Bishops;

<sup>1</sup> Large Declaration, p. 280. Guthrie's Memoirs, p. 60. Baillie, vol. i. p. 112. The episcopal declinature was read on the 27th of November. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 333.



degraded the remainder, and failed not to renew the expression of their abhorrence against the Canons, Liturgy, the Perth Articles, and the High Commission. They at the same time passed a wise and most salutary ordinance, prohibiting churchmen from holding civil places and power ; a legislative measure which would, however, have possessed greater weight, had they not, by a species of jesuitical refinement, exempted themselves from its operation. No one, for example, plunged more deeply into politics, and those, too, of the most corrupting kind, than Mr. Alexander Henderson, the Moderator of this Assembly. The following year he accompanied the army to the borders, under General Lesley, and even signed the armistice as one of the public commissioners ; “a circumstance,” says Burnet, “which made some observe, that it was strange to see a churchman, who had acted so vigorously against Bishops for their meddling in civil affairs, sign a paper so purely civil ; so strongly does passion and interest bias and turn men<sup>1</sup>.”

An act, which confers very little honour on the justice or liberality of this convention, was directed against the press. The covenanters had derived

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs, p. 143. In releasing ministers from their oaths, they acted on a very singular hypothesis, explained by their clerk, Johnston of Wariston (uncle of Bishop Burnet), namely, “that the swearer is neither bound to the meaning of the prescriber of the oath, nor to his own meaning when he takes the oath, but to the reality of the thing sworn, as it shall be afterwards interpreted by the competent judges.” Johnston had surely mistaken his Church !

much aid to their cause from the publication of pamphlets and other works, some of which were of the most inflammatory nature, and decidedly hostile to the government in church and state. But having now attained their object, they resolved, if possible, to destroy the formidable instrument which they had reason to fear might yet be directed against themselves. Their resolution is expressed in the following terms :—" The Assembly, considering the great prejudice which God's Church in this land hath sustained these years by-past, by the unwarranted printing of libels, pamphlets, and polemicks, to the disgrace of religion, slander of the gospel, infecting and disquieting the minds of God's people, and disturbance of the peace of the Church—by virtue of their ecclesiastical authority, dischargeth and inhibiteth all printers within the kingdom, to print any act of the former Assemblies ; any of the acts or proceedings of this Assembly ; any confession of faith ; any protestation ; any reasons *pro* or *contra*, anent the present divisions and controversies of this time ; or any other treatise whatsoever, which may concern the Church of Scotland, or God's cause in hand." The power of printing was, however, reserved for their own friends, by granting a warrant of publication under the hand of their clerk ; whose sagacity, there was no doubt, would direct him to the proper exercise of this distinguished privilege<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Acts of Assembly, 1638. The title is, " An Act discharging printers to print any thing, either anent the acts or proceedings of this Assembly, or any treatise which concernes the Kirke, without a warrant under Mr. Archibald Johnston's hand, as

Among the acts passed by this celebrated Assembly, there is one "discharging all subscription to the covenant subscribed by his Majesty's commissioner and the lords of the Council;" and another, providing "that none be chosen ruling elders to sit in presbyteries, provincial, or general Assemblies, but those who subscribe the covenant, and acknowledge the constitution of this Assembly." In a word, it cannot be maintained that they were profuse in allowing to others that freedom of conscience for which they themselves had long and strenuously contended; or that the confidence which they felt in the goodness of their own cause, induced them to listen to such arguments as might be employed on the other side. Their notions of tranquillity resembled those of the ancient Romans, who boasted that they conferred upon a country the blessing of peace, when they had completely deprived it of all power of resistance<sup>1</sup>.

clerk to the Assembly, and proctor for the Kirke, and that under the pain of an ecclesiastical censure to be intimated with other Acts."—*Declaration*, p. 323.

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to the act of Assembly, which prohibits the printing of any treatise whatever on Church matters, without the warrant of one of their own devoted adherents, Dr. Cook observes, "There is here presented one of the many instances which occur in history of the inconsistency of human conduct. Had the King or the Bishops acted in this respect as the covenanters did; had they suppressed every work hostile to prelacy and the opinions associated with it, how loudly would they have been reprobated by their opponents, as declaring war against the cause of truth and of religion! Yet the moment that the people who would thus have complained, ascend to the pinnacle of power, they proscribe every effort to examine their tenets by the test of reason or the principles of revelation." Vol. ii. p. 472.

It cannot have escaped the observation of the reader, that the ecclesiastical revolution now described was brought to pass almost solely by lay influence ; that the chief motives whence it originated were envy and fear on the part of the temporal lords, who saw the Bishops raised to offices of trust and emolument, and who dreaded that the King would yet confer upon their sees the estates of which they had been violently dispossessed during the troubles of the Reformation ; that, as the majority of the ministers were still in favour of a limited episcopacy, it was resolved by the nobles and covenanting barons, to thrust laymen into presbyteries, in order that persons devoted to their interests might be returned to the Assembly ; that fraud and force were employed to deter the constituent members from being present ; that, to deprive the prelates of their votes, they were loaded, in an unlawful manner, with the most atrocious imputations, which no regular attempt was ever made to prove ; and, finally, that all the acts, changing the constitution of the Church, were passed after the Assembly had been dissolved by the royal commissioner, and forbidden to meet again under pain of treason. Former meetings of the clerical representatives may have been influenced, more or less directly, by the hope of a comfortable provision, of a peaceful establishment, and even of professional promotion ; but there is no example of one so managed and controlled as that of 1638, where the members appeared rather as the delegates of a factious aristocracy, than as the deputies of their brethren, the parochial incumbents of the nation.

## CHAPTER XIII.

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR TO THE  
RESTORATION.

*Warlike intentions of the Covenanters—Their efforts to engage powers and raises forces at home—Letter to the French King—Designs and exertions of Cardinal Richelieu—Insincere conduct of the insurgent lords—Charles ill served by his professed friends—Oath proposed by the King—Loose notions in regard to such obligations—Conduct of Principal Baillie and Mr. Henderson—Remarks on the spirit displayed in the negociations between the King and his Scottish subjects—Main error in Charles's government—Fate of the extruded prelates—Resentment of the Covenanters extended to the inferior clergy and professors in Universities—Inquiry into the charges against the Bishops—Freedoms used on Sunday—Swearing—Special charges—Foster of Melrose—All who submitted to the Assembly of 1638, were received into the new Communion—Origin of Book of Sports—Commencement of Civil War—Deportment of the ministers—A General Assembly—Lord Traquair, as Commissioner, signs the Covenant—That Bond rigidly enforced on all classes—Parliament meets, and is prorogued—War renewed—A Parliamentary Committee appointed to conduct the war—Repulse of Lord Conway at Newburn, and treaty of Ripon—Charles confirms the decisions of the Scottish Parliament and of the Assembly held at Edinburgh—The King again visits Scotland, and gratifies the Covenanters—The spirit of innovation still at work—Assembly held at St. Andrew's—Correspondence with the English malcontents—Divines assemble at Westminster—Correspondence with the Scots—Solemn League and Covenant—Activity of*

*ministers during the Civil War—Every clergyman obliged to provide a soldier—Power of the Ecclesiastical Commission—Church had become a political faction—Ministers vindictive and intolerant—Their proceedings in respect to the engagement—Some of them refuse to comply with the arbitrary injunctions of the clerical commission—The Kirk usurps political power—The origin of the Resolutioners and Protesters or Remonstrants—Conduct of Cromwell—His correspondence with ministers—He forbids the meeting of Assemblies—Colonel Cotterell dissolves Assembly at Edinburgh—Similar proceeding in Fife—Peace and prosperity of Scotland under his government—Reflections.*

THE spirit manifested by the popular party during the scene which has just been described, was so inconsistent with the duty of loyal subjects, that, even in the absence of all records illustrative of their intentions, it might be inferred they had already determined on war. It is found, accordingly, that while they were negotiating with the representative of their sovereign, they were also employed in awakening the interest of foreign powers in their behalf, and in purchasing arms for the use of their followers at home. Even in the year 1637, or, at latest in the beginning of 1638, resolutions were passed in the committee of lords, barons, ministers, and burgesses, who then, in defiance of the King, exercised the government of Scotland, respecting military stores and implements. It was also agreed, in the same convention, that a certain sum of money should be raised upon the holders of land, to meet the expenses of their administration, as well as to enable them to take the field, should such an expedient be found necessary<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Relation of proceedings concerning the affairs of the Kirk of Scotland, from August 1637, to July 1638, by John Earl of

Nor were their preparations confined to the resources of their native land ; but, suppressing for a season their wonted aversion to Roman Catholics, they sent a letter to the French King, in which, after reminding him that he was the refuge and sanctuary of all afflicted princes and states, they expressed their assurance of obtaining from him a degree of assistance corresponding to his accustomed clemency ; and they conclude by declaring that the Scots will not yield to any other nation the glory of being for ever his very humble, most obedient, and most affectionate servants. It is true, that scruples among the clergy, as well as other reasons affecting the relations subsisting between the two countries, prevented the expected aid from being actually sent. Principal Baillie remarks, “ we were hopeful of powerful assistance from abroad, if we would have required it. France would not have failed to embrace our protection. Holland and we were but one in our cause. They had been much irritated lately by the King’s assistance of the Spaniard. Denmark was not satis-

Roths. Among the motions in committee, the 9th in order was, “ That the things recommendit to our former committee be adverted to with all diligence that may be, viz. About armes.”

We learn, on the authority of the same noble writer, that “ it was resolved anent the contributione that eight sall be appointed collectors in everie shire, according to ane dollar the thousand merks of frie rent, as they can try, takeing the parties’ declaration whether it be more or less. The contributione is voluntarie, and everie must be valued as they are pleased voluntarilie to declare the worth of their frie rent. The half of the contributione raised in ilk shire must be delyvered to Johne Smith, and efter the same is spent, to send for the other half.” The first contribution exhibited the names of thirty-four noblemen, who gave 670 dollars.

fied with many of our Prince's proceedings, and was much behind with the crown of Britain since his war with the Emperor. Sweden was fully our's, to have granted us all the help they could spare from Germany. But we resolved to make no use of any friendship abroad, till our case was more desperate than we yet took it. We still hoped to bring off our Prince by fair means, which had not been so easy if we had once brought foreign forces within the isle. We were hopeful, by the assistance of God, to make our party good by ourselves alone. The assistance of Lutherans, let be of Papists, at this time was, to our divines, a leaning to the rotten reed of Egypt; besides our poverty to give pay to a few strangers, and our old doleful experience of their intolerable insolency when they come to fight on their own charges. Above all, a league with foreigners had made England of necessity our enemy, the evil in the world we most declined, and our adversaries did most aim at."—"The less our design was for help from abroad, our diligence was the greater to make good use of our means at home."—"Much help we got from good General Lesley, who sat daily with our general committees. We intended to give him, when the time of need came, as we did, the charge of our generalissimo, with the style of *his Excellence*; but for the present he was diligent, without any charge, to call home officers of his regiment, to send for powder, muskets, pikes, cannon; wherein from Holland, Sweden, and Germany, we were pretty well answered<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. i. pp. 153, 154. The original of the letter to the King of France is as follows. It is



The French government, at that period under the direction of Cardinal Richelieu, desirous to perplex the affairs of Charles, and to sow dissension among the Protestants of Britain, lent a ready ear to the applications of the confederated lords who had placed themselves at the head of the Covenant. Chambers, a priest of Scottish extraction, and who was at once almoner to the cardinal, and nephew to Con the papal nuncio, was repeatedly sent into his native country, to watch the motions of the two great parties and to inflame their discontents. This individual afforded a channel of communication between his patron and the disaffected peers; and as these

addressed "Au Roi," the style of subjects to their natural prince.

Sire,

Vostre-Majesté (estant l'asyle et sanctuaire des Princes et des Estats affligéz) nous avons trouvé nécessaire d'envoyer ce gentilhomme le sieur de Colvil, pour représenter à V. M. la candeur et naïveté tant de nos actions et procédures que de nos intentions, lesquelles nous desirons estre gravées et escrites a tout l'univers avec un ray du Soleil aussy bien qu'a V. M. Nous vous supplions donques tres humblement (Sire) de lui adjouster foy et creance, et a tout ce qu'il dira de nostre parte, touchant nous et nos affaires; estans tres asseurés(Sire) d'une assistance esgale a vostre clemence accoustumée cydevant, et si souvent monstrée a ceste nation, laquelle ne cederà la gloire a autre quelconque d'estre eternellement,

Sire,

de V. M.

les tres humbles et tres obeyssants,

et tres affectionés serviteurs,

ROTHES, MONTROSE, LESLIE, MARRE,  
MONTGOMERY, LOUDON, FORRESTER.

last were chiefly influenced in all their measures by a regard to secular considerations, they refused not to accept the aid, whether of arms or of money, which Richelieu had at his disposal. Large supplies of warlike munitions were accordingly sent from Holland; and a hundred thousand crowns were confided to the care of General Lesley, who had undertaken to discipline such of the rustic insurgents as might flock to the banners of their renovated faith.

It is thus manifest, that the covenanters had not only anticipated the hazard of war, but had even prepared for it before Charles perceived the full necessity of an appeal to arms. In fact, the noblemen who acted the chief part in opposing the King's government in Scotland, exerted themselves from time to time, in order to keep alive in the minds of the people the feeling of discontent and suspicion, which the repeated concessions made to their wishes had nearly allayed. When, for example, the Service-book and Canons were withdrawn, and the High Court of Commission was so restricted as to present no danger to personal freedom, the multitude were generally satisfied. At this epoch, accordingly, when peace seemed about to return, and the popular excitement was fast subsiding into repose, Lord Rothes states, that the leaders of the faction "did find it necessar to sett out something for informing the people in the nature of our desires, that so, *they being found so necessarie*, might not be deceived, nor taken with the suggestiones of such as thought the discharge of the books, and the tempering of the High Commission sufficient." With this view they employed Johnston of Wariston, and the Rev.

Alexander Henderson, to draw up a manifesto for the public eye, entitled, "The least that can be asked to settle this Church and kingdome in a solid and durable peace." The conditions implied in this document paved the way for the resolutions of the celebrated Assemblies held at Glasgow in 1638, and at Edinburgh, in August, 1639, by which episcopacy was not only abolished, as the form of government recently established in the Church of Scotland, but as positively unlawful in itself, and destitute of all scriptural authority<sup>1</sup>.

Viewing their conduct simply as that of men who had determined to resist their Sovereign by force, and to introduce, whether with or without his consent, certain changes in the constitution, civil and ecclesiastical, now deemed by them essential to their independence as the subjects of a free state, the reader will not make haste to condemn the means which the covenanters adopted for the accomplishment of their object. But a candid mind will find some difficulty in extending a similar indulgence to them, when he reviews their actions as connected with the loud and ardent expressions of loyalty they were constantly directing towards that throne which they certainly meant to humble, if not to overturn. Viewed as following the maxims of avowed rebels, they were not to be blamed for their efforts to combine against their King, the power of France, Holland, Sweden, and Denmark, and even to invite foreign troops to land upon the shores of England, in the capacity of their allies. It

<sup>1</sup> Relation of Proceedings, &c. by Lord Rothes, p. 96, as recently printed by the Bannatyne Club.

is, however, less within the range of that sober philosophy which examines the ordinary principles of human action, to discover motives which at the same moment could incite the enemies, and even arm the subjects of their lawful Prince, to oppose him in the field of battle, and dictate the most fulsome declarations of love, fealty, and devotion to his cause. While they were writing to the King of France to assist them with men, money, and weapons; while they had agents on the continent collecting pikes, powder, muskets, and cannon, they still express the deepest sorrow at being thought mutinous or rebellious; "the imputations wherof was intolerable unto them, who had God to be their witness, that they will rather undergo death itself, than be guilty of that sin!" They farther declare that "never any such word or motion had been among them that tendit farther than humblie to supplicate, as the most submiss way allowed to the meanest of subjects; and therefore that they behoved to clear themselves by a petition to his Majesty<sup>1</sup>."

It is impossible to contemplate, without disgust, the rank hypocrisy and double dealing which disgraced the leaders of the covenant, at the commencement of the civil war. Charles was miserably served and grievously disappointed even by those who had not secretly resolved to betray him. Their proceedings were marked with a delay and imbecility which could not fail to excite the most painful suspicions; and hence, when he began his march from York in the spring of 1639, he thought it necessary to propose an oath, to

<sup>1</sup> Relation of Proceedings, &c. p. 24.

be taken by the peers and other persons of eminence, containing an obligation to oppose, to the utmost hazard of life and fortune, all seditions, rebellions, and conspiracies, especially such as should come "veiled under pretence of religion." The court, at that period, was full of Scotch, some of them holding offices about the royal person, and others giving their attendance merely in token of their fidelity; or, with the design, perhaps, of facilitating an accommodation between his Majesty and their disaffected countrymen. It was not imagined, that any of the English would refuse to make the required protestation; "and they who thought the worst of the Scots," says Clarendon, "did not think they would make any scruple of doing the same, and consequently, that there would be no fruit or discovery from that test." "The Scots, indeed, took it to a man without grieving their conscience, or reforming their manners <sup>1</sup>."

The new notions in religion contributed not a little to weaken in the public mind the sanction of a solemn appeal to Heaven, as well as those minor obligations which bind the members of a civilized community to truth, on the principles of consistency and honour. The Assembly of Glasgow, for example, exercised the dispensing power of releasing the ministers from the oaths which they had taken to their ordinaries, on the plea, that such a form was not enjoined by the law; and Wariston, the clerk of that meeting, afterwards promulgated a doctrine on the same head, to the effect already

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's History, vol. i. p. 185. Oxford Edition, 1819.

mentioned, that, "the swearer is not even bound to his own meaning when he takes an oath, but to the sense which may afterwards be put upon it by any one who undertakes to define its obligation, by a reference to the change of circumstances."

Hypocrisy has been justly pronounced the reigning vice of that unhappy age. The motives most commonly avowed, were seldom those which really gave birth to the actions of the leading personages on either side; it being usual to cherish a secret purpose, and to keep the eyes fixed on an ulterior object, which, until it was fully accomplished, could only be made the subject of conjecture. Nor was this insincerity confined to the British nation; for it is recorded in the page of history, that the Dutch, after having offered themselves to a French Prince, and humbly solicited the Queen of England to accept of the sovereignty of their country, declared, through their deputies at the court of Elizabeth, "that they were a people as faithful, and as great lovers of their monarch, as any in Christendom<sup>2</sup>."

It cannot be denied, at the same time, that among the covenanters, there were men who had some

<sup>1</sup> Skinner, vol. ii. p. 335. In the Geneva Bible, on Matth. v. 12. is the following note:—"Promise ought not to be kept, where God's honour and preaching of his truth is hindered." "What a wide gap," says Heylin, "doth this open to the breach of all promises, oaths, covenants, contracts, and agreements, not only betwixt man and man, but also between Kings and their subjects! What rebel ever took up arms without some pretences of that nature."—*Animadversions on the Church History of Britain*, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> Meteren, folio, 254, quoted by D'Israeli, vol. ii. p. 310.

regard for religion, independently of its connection with political and personal views. Baillie, for instance, the Principal of Glasgow College, appears to have been distinguished by a sincere piety, while, on many occasions, he employed all the interest attached to his character, in order to moderate the zeal of his more ardent associates, and to procure for the claims of conscience a suitable degree of tenderness or forbearance. But even he, when mounted like a dragoon, with a sword at his side, and “a couple of Dutch pistols at his saddle,” was apt to forget the mild precepts of that religion, which it was his duty to teach. It is manifest, that he would have been pleased, had the Earl of Montrose put the city of Aberdeen to distress, if not to military execution, when he defeated Lord Huntly, and compelled the people to take the covenant. “Their Bishop, Doctors, and the most malicious of their burgesses, ship for England; the rest send to parley, but are refused, so in great fray are forced to surrender without condition. *The discretion of that generous and noble youth was but too great.*” Again, upon relating that the insurgents had plundered the houses of several gentlemen who were supposed favourable to the King, he remarks, “that this was much cried out upon by our enemies, as cruel and barbarous; but a little time did try (prove) that we had been too great fools not to *disarm that country altogether, and use some severity for example among them*<sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Baillie's Letters and Journals, vol. i. p. 159, 160. “To shew the bitter spirit of the times,” says Dr. Cook, “I shall con-

In other cases, it is not difficult to perceive the operation of that dangerous maxim, which attempts to justify bad means, by a reference to the goodness of the end. To illustrate this observation, it may be sufficient to draw the attention of the reader to the conduct of the celebrated Alexander Henderson, when labouring to recommend the covenant to the professors and clergy, at Aberdeen. These learned persons, it is well known, refused to sign it; being apprehensive that it was equally inconsistent with their loyal feelings to their Sovereign, and their regard for Episcopacy. Henderson endeavoured to remove their scruples, by assuring them, that they might very well swear it without prejudice to the government of the Church by Bishops. "You will," says he, "have all the covenanters, against their intentions, and whether they will or not, to disallow and condemn the articles of Perth and Episcopal government. But it is known to many hundreds, that the words were purposely conceived for satisfaction of such as were of your judgment, that we

clude with a short passage, from a controversial work, by Principal Baillie, esteemed, and justly esteemed, one of the most moderate of his party." "I was also content with another part of my task, to throw down to the dust of just contempt and well deserved disgrace, the unhappy and infamous wretches, Adamson, Spotswood, Maxwell, and Balcanqual." "What stronger language," continues the Doctor, "could have been used, had the Archbishop been one of the vilest of men? And how cautious is it necessary to be in receiving the representations of those who could thus sink in political zeal, the candour and charity which their ardent religious professions should have led them to cherish!"—*History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 509.



might all join in one heart and one covenant." After the lapse of a few months, however, the Assembly met at Glasgow, where the same reverend gentleman presided as Moderator; and where, as the official organ of his brethren, he declared that "Episcopacy was *abjured* in the covenant<sup>1</sup>."

But the insincerity with which the Covenanters are chargeable, appears most frequently in their supplications and addresses to the King. This circumstance had attracted the notice of the eloquent historian of the Civil War, who remarks, that "the Scots had, from the beginning, practised a new sturdy style of address, in which, under the license of accusing the counsel and carriage of others, whom yet they never named, they bitterly and insolently reproached the immediate actions and directions of his Majesty himself; and then made the greatest professions of duty to his Majesty's person, that could be invented." Charles, on his part, has likewise been blamed for making promises which he did not intend to fulfil, and for uttering protestations to which he had previously resolved not to adhere. His warmest friends have not attempted

<sup>1</sup> General demands concerning the late covenant, reprinted at Aberdeen, 1662. "And for your argument," says Mr. Henderson, to the Aberdeen Doctors, "whether the Articles and Episcopacy be against the purity and liberty of the gospel, or not, which is not determined by these words of the Covenant; but it cannot be denied, first, that if in a free Assembly, they be found to be against the purity and liberty of the gospel, they ought to be abolished; in the mean time, *it being left free by the words of the covenant to all who will, to stand to the defence of their lawfulness.*"

to acquit him of occasionally using, for the confusion of his assailants, the very weapons with which he was attacked, and of having recourse to a refined casuistry, in order to defend himself against the wiles of men, who, either attached no meaning to their words, or employed them for the sole purpose of deception. In the most favourable circumstances, it is extremely difficult to conduct a negociation, where great interests are at stake, without falling into such misapprehensions as almost necessarily lead to the impeachment of honesty on both sides; and hence, nothing is more common in the intercourse of nations, and especially of those who have to adjust the differences occasioned by war, than to insinuate, that undue advantage has been taken of the ambiguity of words, and that little regard has been paid to the precise terms of the most guarded stipulations. The hazard of being misunderstood is, moreover, greatly increased, when the two parties do not meet on an equal footing; where a bold claim or a humble petition, on the one hand, is met by a reluctant concession on the other; because, while the former will interpret the grant according to the largest import of the expression in which it is conveyed, the latter will be disposed to measure his boon by the narrowest scale that can be applied to his language. It was the misfortune of Charles, too, that as he had no minister for Scotland, in whom he could repose an entire confidence, he found it necessary to engage personally in most of the treaties, by means of which, he endeavoured at once to satisfy his people, and to preserve his own prerogative. Unwilling to trust or to annoy his English coun-

sellors with the affairs of his northern kingdom, he selected an administration from among the noblemen of that country; and it is remarkable, that, such was the malign influence of the times, he found a want either of talent or integrity in every individual whom he called to his assistance. The conduct of Hamilton, for example, betrayed great weakness, or a concealed disaffection to the royal cause; while the proceedings of Traquair, so little in unison with the wishes of his master, never displayed any vigour, except when they tended to diminish the authority of the Crown, and encourage the enemies of the Church.

It cannot have escaped the attentive reader of British history, as applicable to this eventful period, that the apparent insincerity of the King, frequently arose from a conscientious regard to truth and principle. In all his negotiations, on points where he meant to yield no more than a temporary concession, he uniformly secured for himself an apology or pretext for recovering what he was thus obliged to relinquish. When, for instance, he instructed his commissioner in Scotland, to indulge the people to a certain extent, and even to flatter them with hopes, he added, but "so that you engage me not beyond my grounds." A less scrupulous ruler, when treating with subjects inflamed with the rankest sedition, and on the eve of a civil war, would have amused them with unlimited promises, and acceded to all their requests, until he had prepared the means of effectually subduing their rebellious spirit. He would have surrendered a disputed claim, for the moment, on the same principle that a general gives

up a fortress which he can no longer defend; determined, however, to embrace the first opportunity of recovering it, either by force or stratagem. Charles, on the contrary, actuated by an unceasing reverence for truth, laboured his conclusions with the utmost ingenuity, in order that he might secure an opening by which to retire in some degree from the obligations of an unfavourable or compulsory engagement. It may seem paradoxical, and yet it is not inconsistent with the moral impressions of mankind, to suppose that had he been more boldly dishonest, his sincerity would have been less questioned. This charge, however, was not brought against him by his contemporaries; it was reserved for the writers of a later period, who have canvassed his actions without a sufficient knowledge of the motives, or allowance for the circumstances whence they originated.

The main error of his government, and the principal source of his numerous failures, was the resolution not to yield any thing to the wishes or demands of the Commons, until resistance, on his part, had proved unavailing. His conduct from first to last, in the Scottish Revolution, was precisely similar to what he afterwards displayed in England. His commands in the outset bore a high regal tone of authority; while his measures manifested the same indecision, and were followed at length by the same entire concessions. "It has been the King's perpetual fault," says Baillie, "to grant his people's desires by bits, and so late he ever lost his thanks." Had Charles subjected his principles to his interest, so far as to have signed the covenant, all Scotland,

and the half of England, would have supported him, and might have proved too strong for the ruling party in parliament, whose jealousy, indeed, was early excited by his intercourse with the Scots. It is even probable that, at one time, his Majesty had a secret design of winning over his countrymen to his side; but he no sooner perceived that this object could not be accomplished without putting his hand to the national Bond, than he resolved to sacrifice all the advantages which might have been gained from their co-operation. "Forced to act against his will," as a recent author observes, "he could not be always sincere; but it is not less true, that his inflexibility sprang oftener from principle than from policy<sup>1</sup>."

Leaving these general reflections, we resume the course of our narrative, as it respects the condition and prospects of the Church. The resolutions adopted by the Assembly at Glasgow, in the close of the year 1638, were tantamount to the overthrow of Episcopacy; which, although it had still the support of law, was, in fact, superseded by an ecclesiastical authority, systematically exerted in defiance of the State. Anticipating the violence which was now manifested towards their order, most of the Bishops had retired from Scotland, before the meeting of that celebrated convention, and sought an asylum in such parts of the kingdom as were beyond the reach of their persecutors. Archbishop Spotswood, who had fled to court, died in 1639, and was

<sup>1</sup>D'Israeli's Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First.—vol. iii. page 448.

interred in Westminster Abbey<sup>1</sup>. Lindsay, the other Archbishop, who is described as having been a popular preacher, and a man of great moderation, after passing a few years in the northern counties of England, ended his troubled life at Newcastle. Bishop Lindsay of Edinburgh, Bellenden of Aberdeen, Whitford of Brechin, Wedderburn of Dumbane, Abernethy of Caithness, and Campbell of the Isles, dropped successively into their graves, without having obtained leave to return into their native country. The Bishops of Dunkeld, Orkney, and Argyle, submitted to the Assembly, abjured their episcopal character, and accepted parochial charges, as presbyterian ministers, "not respected by either side<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Life of Archbishop Spotswood, prefixed to his History.

Skinner, vol. ii. page 347. It is somewhat surprising to find that, as *all* the Bishops were accused of simony, incest, fornication, adultery, sabbath-breaking, drunkenness, and gaming, those of them, without any exception, who submitted to the new Church-government, were entrusted with the duty of parishes. In truth, it would appear, that submission to the Assembly would have wiped off all the imputations alleged against them, the most of which were thereby admitted to be groundless. Of Argyle, one of the accepted Bishops, Baillie says, "he seemed as worthy of censure as any. In his small time he had shewn his good will to go the worst ways of the faction. He was an urger of the wicked oaths on entrants, an obtruder of the Liturgy on them, an oppressor of his vassals, a preacher of Arminianism, a profaner of the sabbath, and beginner to do all that Canterbury could have wished." "The two last were Dunkeld and Caithness. Both had simply submitted themselves to the Synod, and requested to be continued in the office of the ministry. Their submission obtained favour; otherwise, there was truly alleged against them the common faults, and as foul pranks of simony and avarice as the former."

The history of Maxwell, Bishop of Ross, presents a few features somewhat more remarkable than belong to the rest of his official brethren. Having assumed a leading part in the recent events, he had rendered himself extremely obnoxious to the Covenanters, and was, accordingly, retained by them in a specific list of incendiaries, who were excluded from mercy in every act of indemnity or oblivion that they allowed to be passed. His services in Scotland, though perhaps more zealous than prudent, recommended his character to the King, who appointed him to the vacant diocese of Killala, in the sister island. The troubles which soon afterwards ensued in that country, by exciting the religious antipathies of the Roman Catholics, exposed him to new dangers, and compelled him to seek refuge at Oxford, where Charles had now fixed his usual abode. His Majesty, gratified by the intelligence which the Bishop displayed, in regard to the distracted state of Ireland, preferred him to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam, which happened to fall void in the year 1645. But he did not long enjoy the elevation to which he was thus raised, for in the beginning of February, 1647, he was found dead upon his knees in his closet; having previously suffered great depression of spirits, from the unfavourable turn which the royal affairs had taken, in parliament as well as in the field of battle. He was the author of several able works, the subjects of which will be mentioned in a future chapter<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, second edition, pp. 202, 203; Sir James Ware's Antiquities of Ireland; and Burnet's Preface to the Life of Bishop Bedel.

Bishop Guthry, who was excommunicated by the General Assembly for preaching before the King in a surplice, resisted at once the threats and the seducements of the opposite party; and, though he was fined, plundered, and imprisoned, he still maintained the validity and rights of his order; till at length, being old and not likely to give the prevailing cause much trouble, he was suffered to die in peace, at his own residence, in the county of Angus. Sydsersf, of Galloway, was the only Scottish prelate who survived the civil war, and lived to see Church and State restored, upon the return of Charles the Second to the throne of his father. This Bishop, having retired to France, during the commotions at home, occasionally exercised his episcopal office in the chapel of the British ambassador, at Paris. Among others he ordained in that city, John Durell, the author of a "View of the Reformed Churches, beyond seas;" in which work it is related that the French Churches passed an act in their Consistory, not to pay any regard to the excommunications inflicted by the Scotch presbyterians of those days, unless accompanied with a particular specification of a sufficient cause, "which they did not consider Episcopacy to be." The Protestants of France were not unfriendly to the hierarchy or to a liturgical service. Not only does Durell himself assert the lawfulness of both, but he also quotes a letter, addressed by Frederick Spanheim, one of the ministers of Geneva, to Archbishop Usher, in which are the following expressions:—"with singular affection to all the British Churches, we reverence and love their illustrious prelates, and we pray to God for the prospe-



rity of these kingdoms, and of all them that sit at the helm, as well in the Church as in the Commonwealth, that God may ever have his glory, the King his just right, and the prelates of your Churches their due authority<sup>1</sup>."

The resentment of the Assembly was extended to a considerable number of the inferior clergy, as well as to certain teachers in the Universities. The two colleges of Aberdeen, being remarkable for their attachment to episcopal principles, and consequently for their opposition to the covenant, in which the prelatical form of church-government was abjured, were marked out for signal chastisement. The Divinity Professors, Dr. Baron, and Dr. John Forbes, who, in reference to that subject, had conducted the well-known controversy against Mr. Alexander Henderson. considering that their lives were now in danger, left the country, and went into voluntary exile. Both Principals were formally

<sup>1</sup> Skinner, vol. ii. p. 548. "This letter," Mr. Durell says, "was written in October, 1638, and printed at Geneva. The date is observable, and shews us that, at the very time when the Scotch Presbyterians, who glory in Geneva, as their mother church and standard of reformation, were scheming against their prelates, both in person and office, that mother church was reverencing and praying for these Prelates in both respects. To this let me add another letter, though some years later, from the same quarter, by the pen of another Genevan minister, the learned John Deodati, to the Assembly of Divines, at Westminster, in 1647, the whole strain of which is in praise of the Church of England, sadly lamenting the unnatural tumults which were then rending that beautiful and pure Church, 'that fair eye of the reformed Churches, where the needy had been in use to find assistance, and the afflicted a refuge to fly to.' " See also Keith's Catalogue, p. 152.

expelled from their respective charges, together with nine or ten of the most learned ministers in the neighbourhood. At St. Andrews and Edinburgh, similar removals took place; the vacancies being immediately supplied by the preferment of such individuals as were known to be heartily devoted to the new order of things<sup>1</sup>.

As an apology for the severities practised on the Bishops and their adherents, by those who after the Assembly of Glasgow, succeeded to power, it has been usual with a particular class of writers to insinuate, that the lives of the Episcopal clergy were far from being pure; that they were unfaithful in the discharge of their professional duties; and that they had lost all hold upon the respect and affections of the people. Of Archbishop Spotswood, for example, it has been remarked by an author, not generally uncandid in his opinions, that, "alienated from the enemies of prelacy, who were marked by the sanctity and even austerity of their deportment, he conceived it right

<sup>1</sup> In respect to Dr. Forbes, the following notice is supplied by the author of the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 319.—"Dr. Forbes was son to Bishop Forbes, of Corse, and retired to Holland, where he published his *Instructiones Historico-theologicæ*; a work of vast compass and great erudition. When he was Professor, he purchased a house in old Aberdeen, and disposed it for the use of his successors in office, in all time coming, but in the disposition had forgot to secure his own life-rent. On which, the Covenanters, when they declared his place vacant, took hold of this omission, and basely turned the man out of the house which he had bought with his own money. And not satisfied with harassing him in life, they would not allow his dead body to be buried beside his father, in Bishop Dunbar's aisle, though he had earnestly desired it, and his friends asked it as a particular favour."

to depart from the strictness which he associated with enthusiasm; he paid little reverence to the Lord's-day, was not regular in attending public worship, and affected a gaiety or looseness of behaviour, most unsuitable to his station in the Church, and most ruinous to the cause which he was anxious to support<sup>1</sup>."

It is assuredly a heavy charge against a Bishop, to assert, that he paid little reverence to the Lord's-day, and was not regular in attending public worship; and as he shared this imputation in common with the other prelates, the reader will naturally desire to examine into the evidence upon which it is founded. The Covenanters, it has been seen, were not slow to act upon the maxim which recommends a bold and unmeasured calumny, on the assurance that some portion of it will attach even to the most spotless characters. The prelates were accused of habitually breaking the Sabbath, from the circumstance of their being sometimes seen on the public roads on that day, travelling towards the capital, whither their duty, as privy counsellors, frequently called them. That they indulged in this freedom oftener than was absolutely necessary, may, perhaps, be admitted; and for the practice itself, to any extent, no apology, altogether satisfactory, can be urged. The necessity for such unsuitable exertion was itself an evil which they ought to have avoided.

But to appreciate the full amount of the scandal thereby created in the public eye, and the offence which must have been given to the feelings of the community, we should endeavour to ascertain whe-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Cook's History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 508.

ther the sanctity, which, in our times, is most properly attributed to the first day of the week, was generally recognised at the end of the sixteenth century. It will be found then, we presume, that, at the period now specified, the Sabbath was violated by all orders of men, with an indecency, which, in the present age, would be regarded with the utmost abhorrence. "With respect to the Lord's day," says the historian last quoted, "comparatively few paid to it any attention; secular occupations were commonly followed; or they were superseded by riotous amusement. There were instances even of ministers countenancing this, and going with their people on the Sunday evenings to the bow-butts, and the sinful exercise of shooting with bow and arrow. Wodrow, in several of his Lives, gives a melancholy view of the barbarous state of Scotland, and of the profaneness which abounded at the epoch of which I now write; adducing in support of his representation, many facts which render incredulity impossible<sup>1</sup>."

The remedy for this evil was at length provided, not by the reformed clergy, but by the parliament, who, in 1594, framed an Act for the better observance of the Sabbath. At this state of their proceedings, it is certain that the followers of Knox had not attained to those rigid notions, in regard to the rest of the Seventh day, which were afterwards adopted by the more formal Puritans, who disturbed the reign of the first Charles. Nearly twenty years after the Reformation was established, the

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. ii. p. 43.

General Assembly gravely considered whether “a Minister or Reader may tap ale, beer, or wine, and keep an open tavern?” It was indeed determined by the united wisdom of the members, that, “these persons be exhorted by the Commissioners to keep decorum,”—a judgment, however, which reserved to their industrious brethren no small share of discretionary power in the pursuit of temporal objects. In those days, a portion of the weekly festival, as well as of the annual commemorations appointed by the Church, was devoted to relaxation ; and hence, it was not deemed very unbecoming, even in serious persons, to seek amusement, or to travel on important business, after Divine Service on Sabbath. In all such cases, the characters of men must be tried by the standard of the age in which they lived. At the beginning of the insurrectionary war, it was not thought irreverent, even in the colleague of Knox, to assume the steel cap and iron jacket, and to arm his hand with the spear, like a common soldier. Nor did the members of the celebrated Convention, who in 1638 deposed and excommunicated the Bishops, on account of their secularized manners, refuse to join the army which had been raised against the King, and to take the field loaded with the carnal weapons of sword and pistol. Such conduct, abstracted from all reference to its political bearing, would be considered highly indecorous in a modern clergyman, even should his pretensions to zeal and piety be less exalted than were those which distinguished the ecclesiastical troop who accompanied General Lesley to Dunse-hill<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Baillie's Journals and Letters, p. 174.

In perusing the records of the General Assembly, as embodied in the "Book of the Universal Kirk," it is easy to mark the progress of the laxer habits in respect to Sunday, which prevailed before the Reformation, and of those more rigid maxims which gradually sprung from the new doctrines. In an ordinance or act, dated March, 1574, "it is thought meet and concludit, that na clerk-playes, comedies, or tragedies, be maid of the canonical scriptures, new as auld, on Sabbath-day nor Wark-day, in time coming; the contraveners hereof, if they be ministers, to be secluded frae the function; and if they be uthers, to be punished by the discipline of the Kirk. And ordaines an article to be given in to such as sitt upon the policie, that for uther playes, comedies, tragedies, and uther profaine playes, as are not maid open authentic pairtes of the scripture, *may be considered* before the be proposed publickly; and that they be not played upon the Sabbath-days."

In 1576, "the Assembly refuses to give libertie to the Bailie of Dunfermline, to play upon the Sondag afternoone, a certaine playe, whilk is not maid on the canonical pairtes of the scripture, in respect of the acte paste in the contrair." The following year, the Regent is requested to discharge the playes of *Robinhuid*, *King of May*, and such uthers, on the *Sabbath-day*. In 1579, there is a reference from the Synod, asking "Quat aught to be done to such persones that, after admonition, will pass to *May-playes*; and especially elders and deacones, and uthers quha bearis offices within the Kirk?" It is answered that "they ought not to be

admitted to the sacraments without satisfaction ; in special elders and deacons<sup>1</sup>."

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, too, the habit of careless or profane swearing was indulged, even by the highest classes in society. The fierce oaths of Queen Elizabeth still disgrace the record of her public transactions, as well as her private conversations ; nor was her successor, with all his affectation of wisdom and scholastic precision, more guarded in his speech, whether in wrath or in merriment. The Bishops, too, in the memorable libel, which charged them with all imaginable crimes, were accused of what was called "ordinary swearing ;" which, according to Principal Baillie, consisted in such expressions as "before God ;" "I protest to God ;" "by my conscience ;" "on my soul ;" phrases, with which the faction, as he was told, delighted to adorn their speeches. As the Covenanters had begun to practise great reserve in their language, such freedoms could not be otherwise than offensive to them, and more especially, as there is good reason to believe they were sometimes used chiefly to mark a distinction between that order of men and others, who were understood to be more kindly disposed towards the royal cause. These asseverations, says the writer just named, were employed by the prelatical party "to clear themselves of puritanism." At all events, there was a glaring want of taste, as well as of manners, displayed in such

<sup>1</sup> Buik of Universal Kirk, pp. 145. 161. 168. See Lord Haile's Annals and Historical Memorials concerning the Provincial Councils of the Scottish Clergy, vol. iii. p. 270.

unmeaning amplifications; though it may still be doubtful, whether this "ordinary swearing" deserved the punishment with which it was now regularly visited,—deposition from the clerical office, loss of benefice, and the threatening of excommunication, in case of obstinacy.

Every candid person, who reads with attention the "History of the General Assembly, 1638," as given by Mr. Baillie, in his Journal, will be satisfied that encouragement was afforded to the slightest rumour, and to every idle tale which could be brought against the Episcopal clergy. Alluding to the Bishop of Moray, he says, "there was objected against him, but, as I suspect, not sufficiently proved, his countenancing of a dance of naked people in his own house, and of women going bare-footed in a pilgrimage not far from his dwelling." "But of all our monstrous fellows," says the Principal, "Mr. Thomas Foster, at Melrose, was the first, composed of contrarieties, superstition, and profanity. He was accused of avowing that said Service was better than preaching; that preaching was no part of God's essential worship; and that all prayers should be read out of books. He made his altar and rails himself, stood within, and reached the elements to those who kneeled without. He avowed Christ's presence there; but whether sacramentally, or by way of consubstantiation, or transubstantiation, he wist not; but thought it a curiosity to dispute it. He maintained Christ's universal redemption, and that all which was in our service-book was good. Yet he used to sit at preaching and prayer; baptize in his own house; made a way through the Church



for his kine and sheep ; made a waggon of the old communion-table to lead his peats in ; he maintained that, to make the Sabbath a moral precept, was to judaize ; that it was lawful to work on it ; that our Confession of Faith was faithless, only an abjuration of better things than those we swore to ; he kept no thanksgiving after communion ; and affirmed our Reformers to have brought more damage to the Church in one age, than the Pope and his faction had done in a thousand years. This monster was justly deposed<sup>1</sup>."

In this impeachment, there is a very odd jumble of charges, both as to opinion and practice. In regard to the former, there are many learned men whose tenets do not differ greatly from those of the minister of Melrose, who would, nevertheless, have reason to complain, were they denounced as "monstrous fellows ;" while, in respect to the latter,—especially the making a road through the Church, and the converting of the old communion-table into a peat-waggon,—the accusation, it is clear, must have been grossly exaggerated. But as sentence was usually pronounced in the absence of the party chiefly interested, the evidence, it is probable, was not very minutely sifted by the zealous presbyters, who acted as judges and jurymen.

Speaking of the Bishop of Dumblane, the Principal remarks that, though he was not personally summoned, having fled to England, "yet he was excommunicated as one who had been a special instrument of all our mischiefs, having corrupted

<sup>1</sup> Baillie's Journal and Letters, vol. i. p. 183.

with Arminianism divers with his discourses and lectures, at St. Andrew's, whose errors and perverseness kithes (appear) this day in all the nooks (corners) of the kingdom, having been a special penner, practiser, urger of our books, and all novations. What drunkenness, swearing, or other crimes were libelled, *I do not remember.*" In this slight and careless manner does the historian of the Glasgow Assembly pass over the most serious counts in the charge against the Bishops. These dignitaries were accused before the public, as being guilty of the most atrocious crimes; and yet, the sentence of excommunication, in almost every instance, is made to rest on doctrinal errors, or an attachment to the liturgy, or, finally, on the preference of Episcopal government. There is only one case in which any attempt appears to have been made to substantiate, by direct evidence, the more weighty impeachments on the characters of the prelates. The Bishop of Brechin is said to have been "proven guilty of sundry acts of most vile drunkenness; also, a woman and child were brought before us, that made his adultery very probable; also, his using a massy crucifix in his own chamber." It is admitted, however, though it is charged upon his lordship as a token of impudence, that he was desirous to appear before the Assembly, in order to justify his conduct and retrieve his reputation, and was only prevented from taking this step by the Marquis of Hamilton, the royal Commissioner, who was unwilling that the judicatory should be so far acknowledged<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Baillie's Journals and Letters, vol. i. p. 129.

No characters can possibly be placed in a less favourable light than those of public men who have been driven from power by a popular faction. The multitude, whose voice is employed to denounce the opponents of their favourite leaders, are not less easy of belief than violent in their animosity; and as the demagogue must assign some reason for the patriotic zeal which he assumes, he seldom hesitates to impugn the principles and sully the fame of the victims whom he has resolved to sacrifice. To such, therefore, as wish to examine into the grounds of the frightful imputations brought against the adherents of the prelacy in the year 1638, it may be of importance to recollect, that all the Bishops, and nearly all the inferior clergy, who *submitted to the Assembly*, were received into the new communion; and that the only crimes of which that class of men were convicted, respected Arminianism, the Service-book, bowing at the altar, wearing the rochet, and imposing, what were called arbitrary oaths, on entrants to the ministry. For example, of the Bishop of Moray, it was alleged, as a sufficient cause for his being deposed and excommunicated, that, besides the common faults of his order, he had shewn great boldness in "putting on his sleeves." He was the first, it should seem, who wore the Episcopal dress; and this, joined to his other compliances with the rules of his Church, was urged as an unanswerable reason why he should be expelled from his office, and even cast beyond the pale of Christian hope and privileges.

Before leaving this part of the subject, it may be remarked, that the zeal and haste with which the

Reformers, in certain districts of the kingdom, deviated from the usages to which the people had been long accustomed, were thought to prove an obstacle to the furtherance of evangelical truth. Finding themselves deprived of their amusements, their cheerful holidays, their ales, dances, and manly games, they looked with an unfavourable eye upon those innovations in religion, which trenched so deeply upon their relaxation and joy. James, in his progress towards London, to receive the crown of Elizabeth, listened to the complaints of the Protestant landholders and the clergy, who did not conceal from him that the peasantry were unwilling to embrace a faith which waged war with their strongest inclinations, and opposed, in a manner so uncompromising, the customs they had inherited from their fathers. Such considerations induced the King to publish his celebrated Book of Sports, and to issue a proclamation, giving full liberty to his people, after regularly attending the Parish-church, to indulge in lawful pastime, such as bowling, wrestling, and dancing, but to avoid, as unsuitable to sabbatic recreation, bull-baiting, cock-fighting, and other cruel practices<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> D'Israeli's Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles I. vol. iii. p. 369. "From time immemorial, our rude and religious ancestors had preserved their country wakes, festivals held through the night, and which, in fact, as their title imports, were the ancient vigils. To strew rushes on the floors, and to hang garlands in the Churches, were offices pleasing to the maidens; the swains encountered each other in their athletic recreations of wrestling, cudgelling, and leaping, or melted the hearts of their mistresses, by their Morris-dances and May-games. Above all, they feasted

This indulgence was received as a boon at the hand of his Majesty by a large proportion of his subjects, some of whom had risen in rebellion against the local authorities, while others submitted with manifest reluctance to the unwonted restrictions imposed upon them by the reformed magistrates. Even at a later period, insurrections were renewed in several of the western counties, especially in Somersetshire, where the judges on the assizes,

liberally; the rich spared not their hospitality; all doors were opened, all comers welcomed; all looked forward to their wake-day; and old friendships were renewed, and little enmities were reconciled at a joyous wake. The people after Divine Service on Sundays, resorted to the churchyard; and after partaking in the same common enjoyments, and copious potations of a subscription ale, brewed by all the strength and care of the district, they left some token of their honest piety for the service of their parish-church, to cast a bell or to repair a tower, and dropped their mite into the alms-box. There were Clerk-ales, where the parishioners sent in their provisions to the Clerk's house and came to feast with him. The Clerk was the vender of his own brewings: his profit and his reputation were at stake; and by the zealous libations of his friends, a half starved Clerk eked out his lean quarterage by these merry perquisites. There was also a Bid-ale, a feast of charity, where a man decayed in his fortunes gathered the generous bounties of his neighbours, at this Sunday holiday. All these holy festivals and public spectacles, well provided with good fare and bonny ale, concluded in rural games in May, and a Yule block at Christmas. These Wakes and Ales were long a singular mixture of piety, benevolence, and mirth."

When the common people murmured at the suppression of their periodical holidays, the Parliament, in 1647, issued an ordinance that, "the second Tuesday in every month, should be set apart as a day of recreation for scholars, apprentices," &c. and that "all windows of shops and warehouses shall be shut on that day."

enforced the recent laws for keeping the Sabbath. But the lapse of forty years produced a great change in the feelings of all orders of men, in regard to the sanctity of this institution ; a circumstance not sufficiently observed by Charles and his advisers, when they resolved to re-publish the Book of Sports, with the view of checking the progress of puritanism and of republican principles. Among the first steps, indeed, taken by the Long Parliament, may be remarked, a variety of acts and resolutions relative to the more holy observance of the weekly rest. The term Sabbath was gradually substituted for the Lord's-day or Sunday, and statutes were passed, session after session, inflicting penalties upon such as should be convicted of dancing, singing, or travelling in a boat, on horseback, in a coach, or in a sedan. A complaint was made by one of the members that, "in their zeal they had tied the godly from going to Church by water or coach, for that he, coming from Westminster to Somerset-house to sermon, had his boat and waterman seized for the penalty<sup>1</sup>."

These circumstances considered, it will not appear improbable that the prelatical party in Scotland may have used freedoms on Sunday, which, in

<sup>1</sup> Prynne, in his *Canterbury's Doom*, has collected some of the Assize orders for the suppression of Wakes, Ales, and other Sunday recreations. D'Israeli remarks that, "the perverted feeling and the misrepresentation of this race, in respect to the Sabbath, had appeared as early as 1637, when many emigrated to New England. In their code of laws, among the Sabbatic prohibitions under severe penalties, are these :—"No one shall run on the Sabbath day, or walk in his garden, cook victuals, make beds, sweep house, cut hair, or shave : no woman shall kiss her child." Vol. iii. p. 388.

the reign of Charles, were deemed a profane violation of a sacred precept. The austere notions of the Covenanters would naturally produce the usual effect, and carry their opponents into the other extreme, as to matters of outward demeanour. The former, placed the sum and substance of all religion in a solemn observance of the Sabbath ; the latter, viewing it as an institution meant to promote the comfort and improvement of man, conceived that these ends might be accomplished by a variety of means suited to the different conditions of society. The one class, accordingly, heard themselves denounced as Rabbinical zealots ; while the other were represented as despisers of the Divine law, and lovers of pleasure. Nor was the inference, however unjust and groundless it might be, either forced or illogical, that men who made light of one ordinance, would neglect others ; and hence, perhaps, arose the facility with which the multitude received the accusations poured upon the heads of the Bishops, prior to the celebrated meeting at which it had been resolved to overthrow their Church.

The year 1639 witnessed the commencement of hostilities between the King and his northern subjects. The Scots, who had determined or foreseen that the great question at issue must be decided by the sword, proceeded in arms to the border, and waited the advance of Charles. The clergy, equally ready in the pulpit and the camp, assumed the dress of soldiers, and accompanied to the field their wary general, whose movements depended not a little upon their suggestions. At the door of every captain's tent was displayed a new set of colours, upon

which were the arms of Scotland, with these words in golden letters:—"For Christ's crown and covenant." Sermons calculated to animate and inflame, were regularly delivered; prayers were offered to God for the success of what was styled his own cause; the audience were assured that, hitherto, they had been conducted by a divine hand; and from these religious exercises they retired with that intrepid fortitude which has been ever found to glow in the breasts of those who deemed themselves martyrs for the truth<sup>1</sup>.

The treaty which ensued, as well as the political consequences of it, are well known. The King, who could not be induced to ratify the proceedings of the convocation held at Glasgow, consented, nevertheless, that, for settling the distractions of the country, a free General Assembly should be held at Edinburgh, in the month of August, and a parliament soon afterwards.

In pursuance of this arrangement, Lord Traquair

<sup>1</sup> There is an allusion to the warlike habits of the Scottish preachers, in a letter from Sharp to Douglas, dated at Breda, in the year 1660. "In the evening, the King took him to walk in the garden near an hour." He adds, "that he found the King's memory perfectly fresh as to all things in Scotland; that he asked by name how it was with Mr. Douglas, Mr. Dickson, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Hutchinson, and Mr. Wood; and having asked how Mr. Smith was, he said, laughing, 'Is his broadsword to the fore?' I answered, I knew it was taken from him when he was made prisoner, but his Majesty might be persuaded Mr. Smith would be provided of one when his service required it."—*Wodrow, Introduction*, p. 28. Edinburgh, 1828.

The mention of a "broadsword" as part of a minister's furniture, is extremely characteristic of the times and people.



was appointed commissioner, with instructions so to conduct the business as not to preclude the possibility of restoring the Church in its ancient form. The King had meant to attend the Assembly in person, where, he hoped, perhaps, by the influence attached to his character and station, to carry certain measures favourable to his individual views. But finding it necessary to name a representative, he desired him to state to the reverend convention that, as the notice was short and his directions imperfect, in case any thing should be done or omitted prejudicial to his Majesty's service, the latter should be heard for redress in his own time and place. This was one of the occasions wherein Charles wished to substitute for actual resistance, which he dared not employ, that refined and casuistical policy which, as it seldom effected its object, exposed his sincerity to a just suspicion<sup>1</sup>.

(1639.) The Assembly met on the 12th August, which, though protested against by some of the Prelates, proceeded to business in the usual form. An act was prepared for the remedy of the evils which had pressed upon the Church; consisting of the grievance occasioned by the Service-book; the Five Articles of Perth; the government by Bishops; the Civil places of Churchmen; and the want of free Assemblies. To this statute the Commissioner gave a verbal assent, promising to bestow upon it a formal ratification, in the ensuing parliament; stating, however, that the abjuration of Episcopacy was to be

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's *Memoirs of Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 148. Rushworth, vol. ii. part ii. p. 949, &c.

considered only in its reference to the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland, and not on the general grounds of scriptural authority<sup>1</sup>.

The next object was to obtain his Lordship's signature to the covenant; a concession, which his instructions, so far as they are known, did not authorize him to make, and which, he could not fail to be aware, would give great dissatisfaction to the King. But Traquair was seduced or betrayed by one of those professions of loyalty which the Scotch, at that period, were so ready to pronounce, and so much inclined to forget. They composed an explanation, in which they declared they never had any thought of withdrawing themselves from that humble and dutiful obedience to his Majesty, which had been cheerfully acknowledged by themselves and their predecessors; and they then added, "We have solemnly sworn, and do swear, not only our mutual concurrence and assistance for the cause of religion, and to the uttermost of our power, with our means and lives, to stand to the defence of our dread sovereign, his person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion, liberties, and laws of this Church and kingdom, but also in every cause which may concern his Majesty's honour, shall, according to the laws of this kingdom, and the duties of good subjects, concur with our friends and followers, in quiet manner or in arms, as we shall be required of by his Majesty, his Council, or any having authority<sup>2</sup>."

No sooner had the Commissioner complied with

<sup>1</sup> Printed Acts of Assembly, 1639, p. 2—13.

<sup>2</sup> Printed Acts, as above.

the wishes of the Assembly, than it was ordained by this reverend body, that the Confession of Faith and Covenant should be subscribed by all ranks; and that every one who did so should be understood to pronounce concerning the unlawfulness of episcopacy, of the Perth Articles, and of the civil power of churchmen. This ordinance, it has been remarked, so popular throughout the kingdom, was, in fact, an engine of severe persecution. It required, by authority, from all orders of men, and particularly from those whose opinions were suspected, subscription to a number of propositions, about which multitudes must have been totally ignorant, and to maxims respecting ecclesiastical polity, which it is impossible to suppose were not condemned by numbers, who, having for many years lived in communion with an episcopal Church, could not be persuaded that such a Church was unlawful. So long as signing the Covenant was a voluntary expression of attachment to a particular cause, much might have been said in its justification. But now, when it was required by an act of Council and the Church, which it was dangerous to disobey; now that it could be enforced by the zealots of a sect upon all whom they chose to harass; it must be abhorred, as occasioning to the conscientious part of the community much wretchedness, and as calculated to diffuse that relaxation of principle which is the bitter fruit of every deviation from the tolerant spirit of true religion<sup>1</sup>.

Immediately after the dissolution of the Assembly, Parliament met; but, before it had entered upon any

<sup>1</sup> Cook. History of the Church of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 501, 502.

business of consequence, it was prorogued by orders from the King, who, it is probable, had determined not to ratify the act for the abolition of episcopacy. The covenanters protested against such an unseasonable exercise of the prerogative, and chiefly because the members themselves had not given their consent to this interruption of their sittings. It is said, that they had projected a number of new motions relative to the constitution of the legislature, concerning which, as Lord Traquair had received no instructions, he found it expedient to stop their proceedings by interposing the royal authority<sup>1</sup>.

(1640.) War was again resolved upon, as the only alternative by which either side could hope to realise their objects. The popular party in England encouraged the Scots, whom they now regarded as useful instruments or allies in the approaching struggle with their sovereign; and, at this crisis, an understanding appears to have been established between them, which continued until the reverses sustained by the royal arms threw the executive power into the hands of avowed republicans. The noblemen, gentlemen, and leading ministers met at Edinburgh, where a resolution was taken to levy forces, raise money, and secure such places of strength as had not already fallen into their hands. The clergy, at the

<sup>1</sup> It was on this occasion that the Earl of Montrose first manifested a change of sentiment in favour of the King. The suspicion, as usual, was conveyed to the multitude, and his defection was talked of in the streets. Next morning he found affixed to his chamber door a paper with these words inscribed, alluding to his interview with Charles :

same time, received instructions to advise their brethren throughout the country "to frame their doctrine" according to the posture of public affairs. Nor was this admonition neglected; for not only did they inculcate upon the people the holy obligation of resuming their arms, but assured them that the King, in contempt of their rights, and in defiance of the faith of treaties, had caused to be burned, by the hands of the common hangman, the articles of the Pacification concluded in the former year at Berwick<sup>1</sup>.

When the period to which the prorogation of Parliament was limited had expired, the members, without any new warrant, assembled to complete the business begun in their first session. After passing certain acts, and adopting resolutions hostile to the King, they nominated a committee, consisting of twelve individuals from each of the estates; one half of whom were appointed to attend the General in the capacity of a military council, while the others were charged with the management of civil affairs, recruiting, and supplies, in the capital.

The result of the second campaign, in which the Scots appeared against their native prince, was still less favourable to his interests than that of the preceding year. The defeat of Lord Conway at Newburn; the occupation of Newcastle by the invaders;

<sup>1</sup> The paper, actually burnt, was not the document mentioned in the text, but a statement, surreptitiously printed by the Scottish commissioners, who asserted, that the King and his English friends had yielded more in the conference, than was contained in the Articles presented to the public.

the negociation at Rippon, soon afterwards removed to London; the weakness or treachery of the King's friends, and the confidence of his enemies, all appear to spring from it in rapid succession. The covenanters, eager to avail themselves of their advantages, urged his Majesty to sanction the conclusions of their late Parliament; to grant them possession of the Castle of Edinburgh; to secure them against all disturbance or legal prosecution for their recent proceedings; and to promise that their antagonists, whom they were pleased to call common incendiaries, should be condignly punished<sup>1</sup>.

The reception bestowed upon the Scottish commissioners, who repaired to the metropolis, in order to conclude the treaty with Charles, indicated, in a very unambiguous manner, that the principles which had triumphed at Berwick, and on the banks of the Tyne, were about to overthrow the government at Whitehall. The Earls of Rothes, Loudon, and Dunfermline, accompanied by their colleagues and a number of popular preachers, appeared as the representatives of their countrymen; resolved, as it should seem, not only to effect their own particular purposes, but also to aid the enemies of the Church and the prerogative in accomplishing, in the south, objects of much greater magnitude. With this view they selected such ministers as had already distinguished themselves by writing against episcopacy, and who, by their eloquence or talents, were qualified to make an impression on the public mind. A house was appropriated to them

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth, vol. ii. part ii. p. 1260. Guthry's Memoirs, p. 53. Burnet's Memoirs, pp. 162—174. Franklyn's Annals, v. 852.

for their residence ; a church was assigned for their devotions ; and multitudes crowded to hear the discourses of men, who, by their arguments and oratory, had roused a whole nation to arms<sup>1</sup>.

No sooner were the deliberations renewed, than the King discovered that the Scots would not be satisfied unless he consented to ratify the acts of their late Parliament, and confirm all the constitutions of the Assembly held at Edinburgh the preceding year. As these concessions implied the entire relinquishment of episcopacy in the northern Church, and the substitution of the presbyterian form, as a divine ordinance, his Majesty at first was determined to refuse compliance. He saw that, on the same grounds, the innovation might be extended to the English hierarchy, and pressed so far by the puritanical party as not to leave the vestige of an apostolical institution in either section of his dominions. But other con-

<sup>1</sup> Baillie, in a letter to his wife, dated Newcastle, November 5. 1640, relates, that "at our presbytery, after sermon, both our noblemen and ministers, in one voice, thought meet, that not only Mr. Alexander Henderson, but also Mr. Robert Blair, Mr. George Gillespie, and I, should all three, for divers ends, go to London: Mr. R. Blair, to satisfy the minds of many in England who love the way of New England better than that of presbyteries used in our Church: I, for convincing of that prevalent faction against which I have written; Mr. Gillespie, for the crying down the English ceremonies, for which he has written; and all four to preach by turns to our commissioners at their houses, which is the custom of divers noblemen at court, and was our practice all the time of our conference at Rippon. They speak here of the apprentices pulling down of the High Commission house in London, of General King's landing with 6 or 7,000 Danes in the mouth of the Thames: we wish it were so!" Vol. i. p. 215.

siderations soon induced him to yield. A collision with the House of Commons, he perceived, had now become inevitable; and he was therefore solicitous to obtain the support of his native subjects, or at least to disarm their resentment by a complete surrender of all their claims, whether civil or religious. He accordingly assured the covenanters, that all their wishes would be gratified; that the decisions of the Assembly should be made the basis of their ecclesiastical constitution; and that the proceedings of the recent session of their States should also be invested with the force of law.

(1641.) To further more securely the objects which he had in view, Charles thought it expedient, after the lapse of eight years, to repeat his visit to Scotland. In the month of August he met the Parliament, already assembled at Edinburgh; where, by ratifying the several acts which established presbytery, he amply fulfilled all the promises he had made to the commissioners in London. "This," said he, "I mind to do, not superficially, but fully and cheerfully; for I assure you, I can do nothing with more cheerfulness, than to give my people general satisfaction. Wherefore, not offering to endear myself by words, which indeed is not my way—I desire, in the first place, to settle that which concerns the religion and just liberties of this my native country, before I proceed to any other act." Advancing upon this principle, he granted every thing that was asked; stripped himself of all power: conferred honours and wealth upon the chief covenanters; suspended the use of the Liturgy; employed Alexander Henderson as his chaplain, with a large salary; and bestowed a



pension upon Gillespie, one of the most violent writers against episcopacy. He gratified Argyle by raising him to the marquisate ; created General Lesley Earl of Leven, and elevated Loudon and Lindsay to the same rank. Nor were the ruling party insensible to the kindness which was thus heaped upon them. On the contrary, besides expressing their gratitude and attachment in the most glowing terms, they renewed an old statute, denouncing it as damnable treason for any of the Scottish nation to levy forces upon any pretence whatever, without the King's commission<sup>1</sup>.

But these fair appearances, which only concealed in the breasts of many the most rebellious intentions, did not continue long. The more moderate presbyterians, indeed, were satisfied with the concessions made by the King, as well as with the sanction whereby these were secured for the time to come. There was, however, a large body whose ulterior views were much more comprehensive, and whose engagements with the English Parliament were quite inconsistent with the settled repose of either kingdom. The popular mind, accordingly, was not permitted to sink down into quietness and acquiescence ; being ever and anon alarmed by insinuations that

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's Memoirs, p. 184. Franklyn's Annals, p. 902. Guthry's Memoirs, p. 90. This last author mentions the dissatisfaction of the King's friends upon seeing so many favours lavished upon men, whose views and interests were decidedly opposed to his own. Lord Carnwath playfully observed, that " he would go to Ireland, and join Sir Phelim O'Neal, and then he was sure the King would prefer him ! " Baillie, vol. i. p. 334, asserts, that " some 4,000 merks a year fell to Mr. Henderson."

the cause of the nation was betrayed ; that the King had gained or seduced the leading ministers, and that the work of reformation, which ought to be extended over the whole island, would assuredly be repressed by the numerous malignants who possessed the royal ear. The females of Edinburgh, therefore, whose services in the cause of insurrection had already proved extremely efficient, lifted up their voices against such of the clergy as recommended contentment and submission ; and although, on this occasion, they did not proceed to any act of violence, their turbulence indicated to those who watched the signs of the times, that the agents of sedition were again at work, and that a new explosion was at hand<sup>1</sup>.

(1642.) The fruits of the correspondence which had been long carried on between the leaders of the English Parliament, and the chiefs of the Covenant, appeared in the proceedings of the General Assembly convened at St. Andrew's in the month of July. From the former body a declaration was sent down, assuring their brethren in the north, that they were desirous of a full reformation in Church and State, and attributing the obstacles which they had still to encounter, to the intrigues of the Bishops, whose avarice and ambition barred the way to every bene-

<sup>1</sup> Guthry's Memoirs. "The wives at Edinburgh, whose help to the cause was always ready at a dead lift, cried out against all, especially the ministers who were for a peaceable temper—and when the vulgar sort began thus to vent themselves (it being well known that they used not to speak by guess, but first had their lessons given them), men began, more clearly than before, to discover and foresee what might be the designs of the great ones."

ficial change. In the answer which was returned to the zealous legislators of the south, the ministers promise their sympathy and support ; dwelling much on the necessity of establishing uniformity in Church government, doctrine, and worship ; and setting forth the manifold advantages of presbyterianism as a system of ecclesiastical polity. "What hope," they exclaim, "can the kingdom and Kirk of Scotland have of a desirable peace, till prelacy, which hath been the main cause of their miseries and troubles, first and last, be plucked up, root and branch, as a plant which God hath not planted, and from which no better fruits can be expected, than such sour grapes as this day set on edge the teeth of the kingdom of England." They next addressed the sovereign in a supplication, reminding him of his desire that there should be throughout his dominions the same Church government and doctrine ; giving him notice of the reply which they had just made to the declaration of the two houses of Parliament ; and expressing their confidence that he would contribute his efforts to the establishment of presbytery in the south. To keep this matter constantly before the people, whose zeal they wished to keep alive, they forthwith issued an order requiring all ministers, in their public prayers, to seek the blessing and aid of Heaven in behalf of their petition recently presented to his Majesty<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Baillie's *Letters and Journals*, vol. i. p. 348—350. The King, in the Address delivered through his commissioner, had intreated the Assembly "to keep within their own bonds," and that they should not meddle with England, nor interpose in the "differences between the King and the two houses." Burnet's *Memoirs*, p. 196. Guthry, p. 102.

It is abundantly clear, from the language of the Assembly, that their main object was to confer or impose the presbyterian mode of discipline and worship upon the people of England; and, in the meantime, to intimate to Charles, that, if he did not comply with their desires in this respect, he might have the misfortune to find them ranged under the same banners with the popular leaders in Parliament. The King, perceiving that it was equally impossible to gain the Scots, and to avoid an appeal to the sword at home, refused to concede the demands of the former; declaring, at the same moment, that he was not hostile to the wishes of his subjects, when properly understood; that he was satisfied the Parliament had no sincere intention to establish presbytery, and moreover, that the great body of the English nation were not yet prepared for so great a change<sup>1</sup>.

(1643.) The appointment of the celebrated Assembly of Divines at Westminster, formed a new bond of union between the insurgents in England, and their brethren beyond the Tweed. A meeting of the northern Church took place in August, and was attended by commissioners from Parliament and the Assembly; among whom were Nye, Stephen Marshal, and the distinguished Sir Harry Vane, whose talents as a politician had already produced a deep impression on the minds of his Scottish allies. They came prepared with certain proposals for aid and confederacy, founded upon the common claims of the two

<sup>1</sup> Rushworth, vol. iv. part ii. p. 393. Baillie, vol. i. p. 349. Burnet's Memoirs, p. 197, where the letter from the King is inserted.

kingdoms in regard to a redress of abuses, though without pledging the English legislature to any specific plan of ecclesiastical reformation. But the ministers convened at Edinburgh, in whose hands the real government of the country was now invested, would listen to no terms which did not imply the reception of presbyterianism by the whole empire, and that, too, without granting toleration to any other denomination of Christians. It is true, indeed, that the resolutions mutually adopted on this subject, were so vaguely expressed, that Vane is supposed to have outwitted the General Assembly ; and it has accordingly been imagined, that in the famous Solemn League and Covenant to which allusion is now made, there was an attempt on either side to serve the cause of truth by the arts of sophistry and chicanery. All who signed this celebrated bond, obliged themselves not only to preserve the reformed religion in the Kirk of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline, and government ; but also to endeavour the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland, “according to the word of God and the example of the best reformed churches.” They likewise undertook, without respect of persons, to accomplish the extirpation of popery and prelacy ; by which last they declared themselves to mean, the government of the Church by Archbishops, Bishops, and all other clerical officers depending on the hierarchy<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> “Alluding to the solemn league and covenant,” says Dr. Cook, “it must not be kept out of view that the whole of its spirit was in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, breathing an intolerance that sapped the most sacred of those rights, which it was one of its avowed designs to secure, vesting

Guthry, the author of the *Memoirs*, who was a member of the Scottish Assembly, observed to his brethren, that the letters brought by the English commissioners were clear and particular concerning the privative part of extirpating episcopacy root and branch ; but as to the positive part, what they meant to bring in, they huddled it up in ambiguous and general terms, so that whether it would be presbytery or independency, or any thing else, no man could know. Bishop Burnet remarks on the same proceedings, that “wise observers wondered to see a matter of that importance carried through with so little deliberation and debate. It was thought strange to see all their consciences of such a size, and to agree so exactly as the several wheels of a clock, which made it be suspected that there was some first mover that directed all these other motions. This by the one party was imputed to God’s extraordinary providence, but by others to the power and policy of the leaders, and to the fear and simplicity of the rest<sup>1</sup>.”

The remaining years of Charles the First were spent on the field of battle, or in the weariness of a prison ; opposed generally by the presbyterians in both divisions of the island, because he would not sign the Covenant, nor consent to the final abolition of episcopal government. The ministers of the Kirk, eager for the establishment of their favourite polity,

a Protestant community with powers inconsistent with the fundamental principles upon which the Reformation had proceeded, and particularly destroying that free exercise of private judgment for which the first Reformers, to their immortal honour, had strenuously contended.” Vol. iii. p. 64.

<sup>1</sup> Guthry’s *Memoirs*, p. 117. Burnet’s *Memoirs*, p. 239.

and retaining some affection for their native prince, left no effort unemployed for bringing the war to such a conclusion as might secure the ascendancy of the League, and the permanent authority of presbyteries and synods. But the English Parliament, who for the sake of political freedom, had defied their Sovereign at the head of armies, would not bow their necks to an ecclesiastical tyranny at once so oppressive and degrading. To gratify their northern allies, they, indeed, conceded, from time to time, a certain sway to the Directory and Confession of Faith, and even encouraged a hope that the presbyterian model might one day be adopted as the form of the national Church. It was remarked, however, that, in proportion as the aid of the Scottish soldiers became less necessary, the influence of their theological tenets was perceptibly abridged ; and no sooner was the contest ended by the execution of the King, than the independents listened with scorn to the proposal for uniformity of discipline and Church-government, as well as to their zealous harangues on the divine right of classical assemblies and ruling elders, so often pronounced in their ears by the deputies of the Kirk<sup>1</sup>.

(1644.) During the civil war, the clergy of the north shewed their attachment to the cause of the

<sup>1</sup> In April, 1646, the Parliament, when urged to establish Kirk Sessions and Presbyteries, declared, "that they could by no means consent to the granting an unlimited jurisdiction to ten thousand judicatories ; that such arbitrary sway was inconsistent with the fundamental laws of the nation ; and, by necessary consequence, excluded the Parliament from having any share in ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

insurgents, not less by raising troops, than by preaching political sermons. The Commission of the General Assembly, a chosen body of ministers who directed public affairs both in the civil and ecclesiastical departments, issued an order that every clergyman throughout the kingdom should provide, at his own expense, a private soldier to take part in the war, and to represent him in the camp. The object of this strange levy was to form a regiment, under the command of a trusty chief, who should be prepared either to suppress the malignants at home, or to cross the border and join the enemies of the King in the south. The obedience shown by the priesthood on this occasion was more general than hearty; for there were among them many who disliked the secular spirit of the commissioners, and, more especially, the arbitrary manner in which their ordinances were enforced. "The committee men became so tyrannical," says one of their brethren, "that it may be admired how so much violence and cruelty could lodge in the breasts of churchmen who pretended to such piety as did Mr. Douglas, Dick, Blair, Cant, and some others who overruled the commission always; these being nothing but the worst they could do, to be expected by any who should happen in the least to oppose them. This prevailed upon men to submit, for eschewing persecution<sup>1</sup>."

In truth, from the year 1638, down to the period when Cromwell assumed the government of Britain and Ireland, the Scottish Church appears to the eye of history in hardly any other light than that of a

<sup>1</sup> Guthrie, p. 128.



political faction, of which the more active members were usually opposed to the interests of the King, and to the exercise of toleration. The blood-thirsty spirit, too, which they manifested, whenever the enemies of the Covenant fell into their hands, was equally inconsistent with their official character and their habitual professions. Allowing for the exaggerations of their opponents, there still remains abundant evidence to substantiate the charges brought against them, of an extremely vindictive temper, and of the most unrelenting cruelty. To justify the most atrocious of their proceedings, they were wont to quote the scriptures of the Old Testament, where the penalties of sedition or disobedience were enforced by the special command of Heaven; and, forgetting the examples of clemency which are recommended in the Gospel, they fixed their whole attention upon the exterminating wars of Joshua, and on the conduct of Samuel, when he cut Agag in pieces before the Lord in Gilgal<sup>1</sup>.

The clerical Commission, which was renewed every year, claimed an authority co-ordinate with that of Parliament; thinking themselves entitled to pass judgment on the lives and fortunes of all classes in the kingdom. In fact, they attempted to realise, in their practice, that mystical reign of the Church, during which the saints were to inhabit the earth. At the opening of Parliament, for example, in the year 1645, a popular preacher, who was chosen to address the legislators of his country, showed his in-

<sup>1</sup> Guthry, 157. Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 357 Rushworth, vol. v. part i. p. 231.

genuity in pointing out the distinction between King Charles and King Jesus ; and inculcated, that all who were deeply interested in the cause of Christ, were bound to resist their temporal sovereign. The irreverence of the language, and the dangerous tendency of the political sentiment which it conveyed, so far from exciting in the minds of his auditors a feeling of abhorrence, were thought worthy of the highest approbation. The Assembly, which met at the same time, gave instructions that all who had refused to sign the Covenant should be visited with condign punishment ; and also that the sentence of excommunication should be pronounced upon every individual who had afforded any assistance to the royal cause. In this way they pressed religion into the service of their party, and excluded from the society of the faithful not the impious and the dissolute, but those who, however pious and exemplary in their conduct, hesitated to trample in the dust the monarch whom they had sworn to defend<sup>1</sup>.

(1648.) At a later period, when the intentions of the ruling faction, in regard to the King, were no longer doubtful, the Scottish Parliament determined to interpose in his behalf, and even raised an army to co-operate with the royalists in England. This resolution, known by the name of the Engagement, gave great offence to the ministers. The Commission ordered the clergy every where, under pain of deposition, to preach against it, as injurious to the interests of religion and to the objects of the Covenant. In

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's Memoirs, p. 341. Guthry, p. 221. Baillie, vol ii. p. 290, and Cook under this year.

vain was it that the legislature represented to the fervid presbyters, that the interference of the Church in civil matters was inconsistent with the principles of the ecclesiastical discipline established by law. Deaf to all remonstrances, the General Assembly published a declaration, in the very face of an Act of Parliament, and against a decision of the Committee of Estates, making known their resolutions in terms such as those which follow:—"We do also exhort and charge, in Christ's name, the Prince of pastors, all the ministers within this Church, that in no way they be accessory to this sinful Engagement; but in all their conferences and reasonings, especially in their public discourses, they declare themselves freely and faithfully, as they would eschew the wrath of God due for a violated covenant, and as they would escape the censures of the Church<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Printed Acts of Assembly, 1648. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 299. The spirit which prevailed at this period shews itself clearly in certain articles, prescribed by the committee of the Kirk to a committee of Parliament, as the basis of an oath to be taken by all persons.

I. *Imprimis*, concerning religion and the Covenant; that, except the King did first subscribe and swear to both Covenants, it was not lawful for any to endeavour his restitution.

II. That popery and prelacy be extirpated, as also Erastianism, and all other sects.

III. No communication with Malignants in any of the three kingdoms.

IV. No negative voice to the King.

V. That these articles be added to his Majesty's coronation oath, and of all his successors.

VI. And, lastly, that any who refuse this oath, be not capable of any charge, ecclesiastical or civil, *nor to enjoy their own fortunes*. Guthry, p. 217.

Some of the wiser and more temperate ministers, disgusted with the violent proceedings of their judicatories, refused to comply with an order, which was so manifestly unlawful. These soon felt the weight of that fierce anger which burned in the breasts of the leading covenanters ; several of them being deposed from their office, while others were suspended, for no higher offence than having persevered in a judicious silence on a disputed question of national politics. At this epoch, indeed, the ecclesiastical courts had become a field in which the battles of the two great parties were openly fought ; and the interests of religion were accordingly rendered subservient to the furtherance of objects which had no immediate relation to piety or morals. Many of the clergy who now guided the counsels of their brethren, had, at a former period, exhausted their eloquence in representing all participation in the civil power, as a proof of the corruption of episcopacy, and had insisted upon the exclusion of churchmen from all offices connected with the state, as essential to the purity of the priesthood and the success of the Gospel. Yet the same men, who were so shocked that Bishops, by having a seat in Parliament, should be raised to an eminence whence they could calmly and constitutionally guard the rights of the Church, and moderate the ardour of lay-ambition, did not hesitate, in effect, to assume the reins of government, to set the legislature at defiance, and to dictate to the people the line of conduct they ought to pursue, as members of the commonwealth. The turbulence and anarchy to which they gave countenance, embittered domestic comfort, and suspended the protection

which only a steady administration can afford ; factions, exasperated against each other, threatened the kingdom with the horrors of civil war ; and Christianity itself was so far perverted as to aggravate the evils which it should have alleviated or removed. Amidst loud professions of zeal for liberty, there may be traced the unceasing operation of the most virulent intolerance ; all respect for principle was lost in a furious zeal for disputed points in doctrine or discipline ; and the ministers who should have laboured to strengthen the foundations of integrity, employed themselves in inculcating the necessity of oaths, from which conscience revolted, and in branding forbearance as worse than the rankest heresy <sup>1</sup>.

(1650.) After the execution of Charles the First, the ministers of the Scottish Church, who detested the principles of Cromwell as too favourable to the Independents, willingly listened to proposals for elevating to the throne the son of their unfortunate

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. iii. p. 162. As an instance of the neglect manifested by the presbyterian ministers towards the civil government, we may mention their conduct when the committee of Assembly presented to their national Parliament their declaration against the King's concessions in the year 1648. The Parliament, we are told, submitted this document for consideration to the several bodies interested, commanding that it should not be published until the members had further advised concerning it. "Notwithstanding which," says Guthry, "the Committee of the Church commanded it to be printed upon March 12, after which the Parliament desired it might not be spread until farther advertisement ; but nevertheless, upon Monday, 24th, the Committee made an act for reading it in all the Kirks of the kingdom, and presently sent it away to the several presbyteries for that effect." Guthry's Memoirs, p. 214.

monarch. The prince, however, no sooner found himself in his northern kingdom, than he perceived that the principal individuals who had attempted to promote the interests of his father, were excluded from his presence, and even prohibited from bearing arms in his service. This disqualification, imposed by the Kirk, could not be removed without the consent of the clergy. The Commission of Assembly, in whom the actual government of the country had long been vested, were accordingly required to declare what persons should be permitted, and in what capacity, to join the royal standard, for the defence of the nation against the armies of the sectarians, who, contrary to the obligations of the solemn league and Covenant, had already invaded it. The clergy, composing the body just described, considering the great and evident necessity in which their sovereign was placed, gave their consent that "all fencible persons" should be raised to fight against the enemy, excepting only such as were excommunicated, forfeited, notoriously profane or flagitious, and such as had, from the beginning, opposed the covenant and cause of God<sup>1</sup>.

This measure, which appears to have been at once reasonable and necessary, occasioned a violent schism among the presbyterians. The majority of the ministers, who approved the determination of the ecclesiastical Commission, were denominated Resolutioners, while those who condemned it were known by the name of Protesters; a distinction which continued

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow, vol. i. p. 76. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 348—368. White-locke's Memorials, p. 484.

long after the circumstances whence it originated had passed away, and nearly tore asunder the fabric of the new establishment. The latter body, who were republicans in principle, and decidedly hostile to the restoration of the Stuarts, soon gained the countenance of Cromwell. Disregarding the authority of the regular Church courts, they proceeded to the exercise of discipline at their own discretion; expelling from their charges ministers of the most exemplary lives, and against whom no crime could be alleged beyond a conscientious adherence to the royal cause, and a due reverence for ecclesiastical order.

By a recent statute, enacted for the abolition of patronage, the choice of parochial ministers had been transferred to the congregations, and whenever a vacancy occurred, each party endeavoured to introduce one of their own friends. The more fanatical class of preachers are ever found to have the greatest influence with the people. The Protesters appealed to the multitude, professing the purest motives, and arrogating to themselves the exclusive appellation of the godly; while, with little respect for truth or candour, they represented all who opposed them as men of depraved habits, and utter strangers to the regenerating spirit of the Gospel. In the performance of public duty, they affected a strange manner, resembling the arts of ventriloquism, and thereby produced an impression of the deepest awe on the minds of the vulgar<sup>1</sup>. They instituted monthly fasts,

<sup>1</sup> Baillie, vol. ii. p. 373, relates, in reference to one of the Protesters or Remonstrants, as they were sometimes denominated that the "man's vehemency in this (his sermon), and in

at which six or seven of the most gifted ministers attended, and declaimed from morning to night. The people took great pains to imitate this extravagance. One Sunday, in the autumn of 1650, Cromwell and his officers, we are told, went to the high church of Edinburgh, where was a great concourse of persons ; and it is added, that “ many Scots expressed much affection at the doctrine preached by Mr. Stapleton, in their usual way of groans.” Kirkton, who was himself a protester, takes a more favourable view of the subject, maintaining, that the means of grace were never enjoyed in greater plenty and purity, than while the English army dominated in the north :— “ Congregations,” says he, “ met in great multitudes ; some dozen of ministers used to preach ; and the people continued, as it were, in a sort of trance for three days at least. So, truly, religion was at this time in very good case, and the Lord present in Scotland, though in a cloud.” It is manifest, that a country so excited by fanatical emotions, and at the same time so divided on points of principle, could not be governed by any one who did not, like Cromwell, combine the pretensions of a saint with the vigour and decision of a soldier. In the field of theology he combated the ministers with their own weapons ; and when other arms became necessary, either to check their insolence, or subdue their opposition, he did not hesitate to use them. After the battle of

his prayer, a strange kind of sighing, the like whereof I had never heard, as a pythonising out of the belly of a second person, made me amazed.” See also Kirkton’s *History of the Church of Scotland*, pp. 54, 55. *Hodgson’s Memoirs*, and *Lamont’s Diary*.



Dunbar, the loss of which they were pleased to ascribe, not to their own meddling with military affairs, but to some speculative errors in doctrine not yet sufficiently abjured, he engaged in a correspondence with them on the subjects of lay-preaching and submission to the civil government. He informed them that they should have perfect liberty to resume their labours in their several churches; having given special command, both to his officers and soldiers, that they should not be molested in the slightest degree. They replied, that though they were ready to be spent in their Master's service, and to refuse no suffering in the way of their duty, yet, regarding the persecution directed against the presbyterians by the English army, as altogether of a personal nature, they had resolved "to reserve themselves for better times, and to wait upon Him who hath hidden his face for a while from the sons of Jacob." In his answer, the Lord-General remarks, that if their "Master's service," *as they call it*, were chiefly in their eye, imagination of suffering would not have caused such a return as they had made to his free and ingenuous offer. He assured them, that the presbyterian ministers in England were supported, and had liberty to preach the Gospel, though not to rail; nor, under pretence of expounding Scripture, to overtop the civil power and abuse it as they please. The same permission, he added, had been granted in Scotland; and no man could say, since the entrance of his army, that he had been molested in the exercise of his spiritual functions. "Truth," said he, "becomes the ministers of Christ; but when they pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof

in getting to themselves worldly power, and can take worldly measures to accomplish the same, they may know that the Zion promised and hoped for will not be built with such untempered mortar." He concluded by reminding them, that when they should trust entirely to the sword of the Spirit, then the city of the Lord would be built, the Sion of the Holy One of Israel<sup>1</sup>.

In their next letter, the clergy, who in the meantime had shut themselves up in the castle of Edinburgh, dwell much upon the sufferings of their brethren in England, merely for declaring the will of God against the wicked proceedings of men. They allege, moreover, that his promise, made to themselves, of liberty to preach unmolested, was nugatory and deceptive, so long as they were not permitted "to speak against the sins and enormities of civil powers, since their commission carrieth them to speak the word of the Lord unto, and to reprove the sins of, persons of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest;" and that to impose the name of *railing*, upon such faithful freedom, was the old practice of malignants against the ministers of the Gospel, who laid open to people the wickedness of their ways.

Cromwell, finding that he gained nothing by these appeals to the reason of the clergy, had recourse to more decisive measures for preserving the public peace; and, assuredly, in no respect was his government more beneficial to Scotland, than in the firmness which he displayed in subduing the factious temper of that body of men. It has appeared, that ever

<sup>1</sup> Life of Oliver Cromwell, vol. i. p. 82.

since the Reformation, they had laboured, and in most cases with great success, to exalt the spiritual power on the ruins of the civil authority; claiming not only an entire independence of the crown, but also assuming the right to dictate to the conscience of the Sovereign, and even of interfering in all great matters of state. Differing among themselves, too, they carried dissension into all the business of life. Armies were raised or disbanded with a reference to theological tenets; and as we have just observed, it depended upon a vote of the General Assembly, whether the King should be allowed to receive into his service the ancient nobility of his realm, and to raise forces for the defence of his throne. The tyranny of the ecclesiastical Commission extended to the most private concerns of the most retired families, while it affected to control the counsels of the palace, as well as to direct the movements of the camp. The most rampant times of popery exhibited not the influence of the priesthood in a light so disagreeable to a liberal mind, nor accompanied with circumstances so unfavourable to the progress of society, and the advancement of true religion <sup>1</sup>.

For these reasons the General determined to check the domineering spirit of bigotry and intolerance by which the northern kingdom had been so long dis-

<sup>1</sup> One of Cromwell's officers, writing to a friend at home, expresses himself as follows: "Our work now is to stand still, and see salvation wrought for us; this nation being destined for ruin, which makes them thus divide among themselves when an enemy is in their bowels."

turbed. Granting to the clergy, individually, full liberty to discharge their offices as parochial ministers, he resolutely prohibited them from holding an Assembly, or from meeting any where in such numbers as might attract the notice of the government. On the 20th July, 1653, an attempt was made, in defiance of this order, to resume their wonted deliberations at the usual place of meeting in Edinburgh. After sermon and prayer, the Moderator began to call the roll, "when there comes in two lieutenant-colonels of the English forces, and desired them to be silent, for they had something to speak to them." One of the officers demanded by what authority they met? "if by the authority of Parliament, or of the commander-in-chief, or by the authority of the late King?" The Moderator, not being prepared with an immediate answer, offered to repeat the names on his list, that the military visitors might know who were present. But the senior colonel, finding this process rather tedious, ordered the ministers to rise and be gone; assuring them, that if they would not, he had instructions to use other means for their removal. Upon this the Moderator, in the name of the Assembly, protested against the threatened violence; asserting, that they were "Christ's Court," and maintaining their right to meet again, whenever a convenient opportunity should occur. "He then asked leave to pray a word before they dissolved. After he had spoken five or six words, the English officer desired them again to be gone; notwithstanding, the Moderator went on in prayer, but was at length forced to walk off, when they arose and went out. At this time there was a company of English

footmen in the Kirk, waiting upon them, and a troop of horsemen at the port<sup>1</sup>."

After the ministers, yielding to the necessity thus imposed upon them, had relinquished their meeting, they were marched out of town, surrounded by a large military force. Having reached the eastern suburbs, they were examined by the commanding officer, as to their names and places of residence, and discharged from ever assembling again, under the penalty attached to those who disturb the public peace. In this manner, so characteristic of the government which then directed the affairs of Britain, was gained for the civil authority a triumph which all the power of the Crown, in the reigns of James and Charles, could not effect. The plea urged by the Moderator, that the body over whom he presided was "Christ's Court," and must not therefore be challenged by any temporal jurisdiction, was entirely disregarded by the armed

<sup>1</sup> Lamont's Diary, p. 69. Baillie, vol. ii. p. 369. The latter writer states, that the name of the colonel commanding the musqueteers and troop of horse, was Cottrell. "He led us," adds the Principal, who shared in this expulsion, "through the whole streets a mile out of the town, encompassing us with foot companies of musqueteers, and horsemen without, all the people gazing and mourning as at the saddest spectacle they had ever seen. When he had led us a mile without the town, he then declared what farther he had in commission, that we would not dare to meet any more above three in number; and that against eight o'clock to-morrow we should depart the town, under pain of being guilty of breaking the public peace; and the day following, by sound of trumpet, we were comanded off the town, under the pain of present imprisonment. Thus our General Assembly, the glory and strength of our Church upon earth, is by your soldiery crushed and trode under foot, without the least provocation from us, at this time, either in word or deed."

representatives of the Lord Protector. About two years later, a similar scene took place in Fife, where a party of military officers again entered a church, and dispersed the convocation ; producing no other warrant for this determined step, except a proclamation by General Monk, forbidding all public meetings of the clergy.

No further attempt appears to have been made to infringe the rule imposed by the head of the army ; and the country, in consequence, enjoyed uninterrupted repose. It is remarked, indeed, by all the contemporary annalists, that the peace and security created by the vigorous rule of Cromwell, were highly advantageous to Scotland. The ministers, confined to their parochial duties, had no opportunity of exciting the public mind, or of dictating to the supreme authority. Wealth, too, began to be diffused from the English camps and garrisons, scattered over the country : knowledge of the useful arts was acquired in the larger towns ; and a growing desire for the comforts of social life was every where perceived. It is even admitted, that the interests of religion were not impeded ; and that, although a cloud obscured the glory of the Lord, so far as it was wont to be displayed in clerical assemblies, the Divine Presence was not withdrawn from the land. Assuredly, the condition of the people must have been wretched in the extreme, when they are found to ascribe the return of happiness to the successful invasion of an ancient enemy, and to date the beginning of their national improvement from an epoch when they were under the severe administration of a martial despotism.

## CHAPTER XIV.

## FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

*Restoration of Episcopacy in England, led to the same result in Scotland—Motives of the King—Character of the Northern Clergy—Hostility to House of Stuart—Conduct of the Presbyterians in the South—Presbytery had lost ground even in Scotland—Remark of Douglas—No stipulation made with Charles—Opinions of his Council as to Church matters—Both parties of Presbyterians try to gain the King—Mission of Sharp—His supposed motives—Conduct of Remonstrants—Imprisonment of Guthrie—Letter from his Majesty—Its ambiguity—Parliament meets—Act Recissory—Episcopacy re-established—Patronage revived—Address of the Synod of Aberdeen—New Bishops consecrated at London—Episcopal government ratified by Parliament—Not disagreeable to the moderate party—Mode of worship in Scottish Church—No ceremonies—Small salaries of the Bishops—Remonstrants dissatisfied—Prejudices against the Bishops—Favourable opinion of them expressed by Burnet—Presbyterians assail the character of one another—Disadvantages under which the Scottish Church laboured—Character of the Government—Mistaken love of liberty—Enmity to toleration—Clergymen compelled to receive presentations—Those who refused were suspended—More than two hundred resigned their livings—Primate condemned this severity—Young men invited to supply their place—The inconvenience thereby occasioned was premeditated by the Ministers—This precipitancy condemned—Character of the fanatical party given by their own Historian—Could not be managed by General Assembly—Measures of repression adopted—Court of High Commission—Sir James Turner—Massacres by Presbyterians*

*at Daneverlee and Duart—Insurrection—Suppressed at Portland—Covenanters corresponded with the Dutch—A plot to overthrow the Government—Indemnity proclaimed—Easy conditions—Indulgence granted—This gave offence to the more rigid preachers, and was not liked by the people—Indulged ministers insulted as King's Curates and dumb dogs—Such expedients hurtful to the Church—Assertory Act—Archbishop Burnet set aside—Leighton attempts to gain the Presbyterians—Supposed reason for the stiffness—Conventicles increase—Measures of coercion—Parliament arms the Council with tremendous powers—Unsteadiness of government—Highland host—Proceedings of Lauderdale inconsistent with his principles—Extension of the prerogative—Mutual persecution of Presbyterians and Episcopalians—Increased severity of Government—Interposition of the King—Murder of Archbishop Sharp—Joy of the Covenanters on that event—Insurrection—Defeat of Captain Graham—Battle of Bothwell Bridge—Political motives connected with that rising—Violent conduct of the Cameronians—Renewed severity—Duke of York in Scotland—Act of succession—Test—Established clergy dissatisfied—Apologetical declaration—Proclamation by the King—Accession of James—Principal events of his reign—Revolution—Reflections.*

(1659.) THE death of Cromwell paved the way for new events, some of which had a material influence on the fortunes of the northern Church, now doomed once more to change its external form. The restoration of the monarchy being speedily followed by the revival of Episcopal government in England; it was obvious, that it would soon become a question in the royal councils, whether it might not be advantageous to establish the same model beyond the Tweed. As the King, from his personal habits, as well as from a certain bias towards the religion of Rome, may be supposed to have been indifferent to either mode of discipline, the subject



must have been weighed by him in the balance of political expediency alone.

Owing to the circumstances in which the Reformation was accomplished among the Scots, there had all along prevailed a contest between the popular party and the sovereign; the former maintaining that, the spiritual authority, as it emanated from Jesus Christ, must be superior to the highest prerogative which could be exercised by any earthly prince. Hence, the more rigid supporters of the new doctrines were gradually led to promulgate political tenets quite inconsistent with the stability and privileges of civil government. Proceeding on the ground of a theocracy, which claimed all power for the Church, many of them had arrived at conclusions which pointed rather to republican equality than to the confirmation of monarchical rule; and it will, accordingly, appear to the attentive reader of Scottish history, that, at the epoch now under consideration, a large body of the Presbyterians, though attached in some measure to their ancient race of Kings, had relinquished those peculiar feelings, on which loyalty has its firmest foundation.

In truth, from the days of Knox, down to those of Rutherford and James Guthrie, the progress of pure religion had, in the public mind, been so closely identified with an avowed opposition to the crown, that every triumph gained for the one, was considered as a loss sustained by the other. It was impossible that Charles could have forgotten the spirit which animated the clergy, when they extended over the whole kingdom the obligations of the Solemn League and Covenant; or, when they denounced the attempt

made by the authors of the "Engagement" to rescue his father from the hands of his enemies; or, finally, when a large body of them opposed the "Resolutions" to allow his friends to arm in defence of their prince, and of their national independence. The temper of the more active party, too, was clearly manifested by their publications. The "Lex Rex," and the "Causes of God's wrath," with other productions of a similar tendency, might seem to indicate that the hostility of the Covenanters to the house of Stuart, proceeded from a deeper and more permanent source than could arise from a local excitement, or a merely popular irritation. The "Act of the West Kirk," moreover, avowed such an invidious distinction between the interests of Charles and those of the ecclesiastics by whom it was passed, as could not fail to excite his suspicion in regard to the ulterior views of a faction so little influenced by the ordinary sentiments of loyalty or attachment. Nor could he have ceased to recollect the treatment which he received ten years before, when he was detained like a prisoner in his own camp, and insulted with the most cruel aspersions cast by them on the memory of his parents, whose sins and errors he was constantly called upon to acknowledge as the cause of his own misfortunes<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The General Assembly which met in July, 1649, passed an act that the engagers in the war for the relief of the King, make public satisfaction in sackcloth, or be excommunicated;" and in a seasonable warning, published by them at the same time, they describe the defeat of the royal army as "a mercy and deliverance, which ought to be received with thankfulness and praise." They likewise wrote a letter to Charles II. requiring him to

Other reasons of a more general nature might present themselves to the new government, when deliberating on the important subject of Church polity. The form established in England and Ireland, while it exhibited a closer analogy to the civil constitution of the United Kingdom, seemed also better calculated to preserve tranquillity and decorum in the actual administration of clerical affairs. It was hoped that, under the Episcopal regimen, the pulpit would no longer be employed as the engine of political commotion or of personal abuse; and that ministers would thenceforth confine themselves within the limits of their function, as expounders of the divine word and lovers of peace.

Nor was it apprehended that the difficulty in accomplishing these objects would be great and insuperable. In the south, a desire to restore the hierarchy had been everywhere strongly and unequivocally expressed. Even the Prebyterians had sent to Breda, a deputation to assure Charles that they wished him very well; "that they were happy to hear of his Majesty's constancy in the Protestant religion; that for themselves, they were no enemies to a moderate Episcopacy; and only desired not to be pressed with such things in God's worship, as by many were reckoned indifferent, and by tender consciences unlawful." The moderate

settle the Presbyterian government and worship *in all his dominions*, and promising their assistance upon that condition; otherwise, they tell him, "all the blood shed by his father will be laid to his charge."—*Acts of Assembly*, 1649. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 413.

party in Scotland, too, were considered as having no serious objection to the revival of the Episcopal discipline in a modified form; having, in their contests with the Remonstrants, experienced all the evils of anarchy, the insuperable concomitant of popular rule. It is, in fact, admitted by one of the ablest and most judicious writers, belonging to their body, that the nation at large were become disgusted with the angry disputes and frivolous controversies which had so long disturbed their repose. Mr. Robert Douglas, in allusion to the measures projected by the Privy Council, respecting the English Church, remarks that, "whatever Kirk-government be settled there, will have an influence upon this kingdom; for the *generality of this new upstart generation have no love to Presbyterial government; but are wearied of that yoke, feeding themselves with the fancy of Episcopacy, or moderate Episcopacy.*" As this acknowledgment was made by a minister justly esteemed the head of the Resolutioners, it may be inferred without any appearance of undue precipitancy, that the general aspect of things was not unfavourable to the change now meditated in the ecclesiastical frame of the northern communion<sup>1</sup>.

Experience had proved that, in times so unsettled, the democratic principles of the Covenanters could not secure an equal or decorous administration of the most ordinary affairs which might happen to fall under the cognizance of their courts. Fanaticism and an outrageous party-spirit defeated all the ends

<sup>1</sup> Introduction to Wodrow's History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland. vol. i. p. 21. Edition, 1828.

of justice. During the Usurpation, for example, or at least until the strong measures of Cromwell's government had suppressed all discussion, the power of appointing ministers to Parish-churches was seized and exercised by the more violent ministers. If a nomination was made by the Presbytery, within whose bounds the vacancy had taken place, the individual who had received the cure was compelled to preach in the fields, without a stipend; those only who were named by the Remonstrants, or inducted by the actual power of the sword, received any temporal advantage from their benefices. It was, therefore, imagined, that the other section of the Assembly, comprehending the more learned and sober of the brethren, would gladly accede to such an arrangement as would at once put an end to the unseemly controversies which had so long embittered their intercourse, and secure to their cause the protection and countenance of the State<sup>1</sup>.

The majority of the nation appeared, for the moment, to be so much led away by the loyal enthusiasm incident to the period, or so wearied with the disputes whence their protracted misery had arisen, that they failed to insist on any stipulation in regard to ecclesiastical matters. The Church lay in ruins before their eyes; and they seemed willing to leave to the determination of his Majesty whether it should be rebuilt after the pattern of antiquity, or, on the more republican system which had been introduced in the year 1638. Those who held that neither Episcopacy nor Presbyterianism

<sup>1</sup> Baillie's Letter. vol. ii. p. 370—385.

could be traced to a divine institution, confined their inquiries to the practical question, which of the two was the more likely to promote the happiness and suit the temper of the people? The greater number of his Scottish counsellors advised Charles to seize this favourable opportunity for putting their country at rest for ever, by annulling the Solemn League and Covenant, as an unlawful bond, and by re-establishing the order of Bishops. The Earl of Lauderdale is said to have recommended delay, in order that the nation might be weaned gradually from that beloved obligation, which, he insinuated, was valued by some of them, more highly than the four Gospels. But the former opinion prevailed; and it was accordingly resolved to restore the polity which had been suspended or removed by the celebrated Assembly at Glasgow<sup>1</sup>.

It must be mentioned that, as soon as the return of the King to the throne of his father became probable, both parties of Presbyterians attempted to gain his favour and support, by laying before him a statement of their principles, their services, and their desires. To counteract, on this occasion, the designs of the Remonstrators, who were eager in their wishes to anticipate the rays of royal kindness, the Resolutioners deputed Mr. Sharp, afterwards Archbishop of St. Andrew's, to watch over their interests at London, or, if necessary, in Holland. The learning and sagacity of this clergyman had already recommended him to General Monk, who is understood to have employed his pen in drawing up,

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon's Life, vol. ii. p. 102. Oxford Edition, 1761.

at Coldstream, that able declaration of his intentions, which proved so efficacious in preparing the minds of the English people for the great objects he had already begun to contemplate.

While in the metropolis, as also when at Breda, Sharp carried on a regular correspondence with his constituents, and particularly with Mr. Robert Douglas, one of the most respectable of their number ; informing them from time to time of the progress of ecclesiastical affairs. He did not conceal from these zealous partizans that the tide in favour of Episcopacy was very strong, and sweeping towards conformity all classes of men ; and accordingly, that, so far from his being able to accomplish the favourite scheme of the Kirk, by procuring the establishment of Presbyterianism in England, he had the mortification to see the leading members of that communion in the south ready to submit to the hierarchy, if somewhat restrained, and to use the liturgy, if in some respects altered or reformed. A variety of extracts from his letters are given in the Introduction to Wodrow's History, which breathe throughout a firm attachment to the Presbyterian discipline, and contain many expressions of regret, that the government was cold or reluctant in the cause which he had been sent to advocate.

It was, indeed, maintained by his enemies, that he had already yielded his concurrence to the plan secretly cherished by the King, of reviving the Episcopal Church in Scotland, having been bribed to this concession by the promise of a bishopric : and aided by a reference to the events which actually followed. this charge has been clothed with an air of much

plausibility. But to an unbiassed reader, it is manifest that as Sharp wrote, on the whole, despondingly as to the object of his mission, and frequently requested to be recalled, he afforded to the body whom he represented, a fair opportunity of defeating his intentions, if suspected to be inconsistent with his duty and his professions. Profiting by the change which soon afterwards took place, his motives, notwithstanding, will ever remain subject to that unfavourable interpretation which, at all times clouds the character of those who share in the benefits of a triumphant faction. It may be true that he held the opinion of such among his brethren as believed that the rising generation had no love to Presbyterian government; but, being wearied of that yoke, fed themselves with the fancy of moderate Episcopacy. This fact was communicated to him by one of the heads of the party who had appointed him their agent, and whose impressions on so important a matter he might feel it expedient to represent to his Majesty or his advisers. Had Douglas addressed directly to the throne the impression which he conveyed to Sharp, as to the state of public feeling in Scotland, he would, perhaps, have rendered himself liable to the charge, so frequently denounced against the latter, of betraying the Church whose interests he had undertaken to support. But, so far as the truth and weight of the opinion were concerned, it is obvious, that it was of little consequence whether it were stated immediately to the ruling power, or, to him who was authorized to treat with that power. And it must be perfectly manifest, that on no point could the King be more desirous to



obtain information than in regard to the sentiments of the younger class of persons in the north, relative to the form and discipline of their Kirk. It is not, therefore, surprising that, when it was fully resolved to repair the structure of Episcopacy, a bishopric was offered to the reverend Robert Douglas<sup>1</sup>.

(1660.) In the month of August, the exercise

<sup>1</sup> Kirkton's History of the Church of Scotland," p. 82. "That Sharp has been more blamed than he deserved for promoting Episcopacy in Scotland, is certain. The measure would have been carried though without his aid, and in spite of his opposition. And the heavy charge of having deceived his constituents at the Restoration, when sent up from Scotland to court, still remains unproved. The Presbyterians always affirmed him guilty of this treachery; but his own party asserted that, while employed by the Presbyterians, he acted fairly, and bore no commission from them when he gave way to the stream of Episcopacy. Moreover, Wodrow is accused of great injustice in garbling Sharp's letters to Douglas; and Burnet is known to have been so great an enemy to the Archbishop, that his conduct is not to be estimated from the statements of that most spiteful and disingenuous author. He certainly as a clergyman was regular in his deportment; and it is known, that he dispersed charity with a liberal hand, even to the poor of the Presbyterian principles, employing for that purpose a daughter of Lord Warriston, who adhered to her father's creed."—*Note by the Editor.*

The charge of garbling Sharp's letters, brought against Wodrow, may appear not improbable to those who are aware that one of the rules on which he was advised to compile his History was, to leave out "what is merely circumstantial, except where it is necessary for illustrating the matter, or *aggravating the crimes of our enemies.*"—*Wodrow's Memoir of the Author.* p. viii.

It is worthy of notice, too, that when Sharp, upon his return in September, 1660, "made report of his negociation," he received the thanks of his brethren; a proof that hitherto they had been satisfied with his honesty and zeal.

of the royal government was resumed in Scotland, by the Earl of Glencairn, who, in quality of Chancellor, was placed at the head of the Committee of Estates, appointed by the last parliament. Their attention was first attracted to the Remonstrants, who, under pretext of congratulating his Majesty, met at Edinburgh, and gave vent to certain expressions which were accounted treasonable. Orders were issued to seize their papers, and to commit to prison the principal leaders of the faction ; one of whom, the Reverend James Guthrie, was afterwards condemned and executed. This severity was generally approved by the other party, who regarded the conduct of the Protesters, not only as extremely injurious, but also, as inconsistent with the essential principles of monarchy.

About the same period, the more loyal Presbyterians were gratified with a letter from the King, addressed to Robert Douglas, as one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and ordered to be communicated to all his brethren. After alluding to those who, by the countenance of usurpers, had disturbed the peace of the Church, and laboured to create jealousies in the minds of well-meaning people, he says, “ we have thought fit by this, to assure you, that by the grace of God, we resolve to discountenance profaneness, and all contemnors and opposers of the ordinances of the gospel. We do also resolve to protect and preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, as it is settled by law, without violation, and to countenance in the due exercise of their functions, all such ministers who shall behave themselves dutifully and peaceably, as becomes men

of their calling. We will also take care that the authority and acts of the General Assembly at Dundee, 1651, be owned and stand in force, until we shall call another General Assembly, which we propose to do as soon as our affairs shall permit ; and we do intend to send for Mr. Robert Douglas and some other ministers, that we may speak with them in what further may concern the affairs of that Church<sup>1</sup>."

Upon a comparison of the literal meaning of this document with the measures which were soon afterwards adopted, a charge of duplicity has, not without some show of reason, been made against Charles. The author of the letter, which has been, perhaps, rather hastily assigned to Sharp, evidently meant to avail himself of a subterfuge, founded on the circumstance, that the concessions in favour of presbyterianism were wrung from the late King, while his subjects were in a state of rebellion, and were therefore invalid, when considered as the grounds of a parliamentary statute. But this reasoning, it is manifest, would, by rendering legislation a mere mockery, destroy all confidence in government ; and, in point of fact, many of the most important privileges which the people of this country enjoy have been, in some degree, extorted from the other branches of the constitution<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow p. 80, where the letter is given at length. It is directed " To our trusty and well-beloved Mr. Robert Douglas, minister of the gospel in our city of Edinburgh ; to be communicated to the Presbytery of Edinburgh."

<sup>2</sup> The ambiguity of the royal letter was clearly perceived at the time. Kirkton relates, that " the public maintained stoutly

(1661.) The Scottish parliament met on the first of January, under the auspices of the Earl of Middleton, who was charged with the dignity of royal Commissioner. His lordship was known to have urged the immediate restoration of the hierarchy, in opposition to Lord Lauderdale, who, as has been already noticed, ventured to recommend a little delay. To accomplish this object, he proposed that all the acts passed by the legislature since 1640, should be rescinded; a motion which was carried with great unanimity. By this measure, the foundation of the Presbyterian establishment was indirectly removed, and the Episcopal Church replaced upon the basis which it had occupied from 1612 to 1638. The Earl of Crawford argued against the resolution of the States, as utterly subversive of all regular government; reminding them, that if one parliament, on the plea of violence or undue influence, could annul another, it was impossible to anticipate a conclusion to such proceedings, or to expect any security for the future. But unfortunately for the success of his argument, there was to be found in the recent history of Scotland, a precedent, which more than justified the decision he so eloquently condemned. The Assembly of Glasgow,

that the King in these words engaged to defend the Presbyterian government for ever, forasmuch as at that time it was the government settled by law. The Protesters smiled, and said to their brethren, they were bad grammarians, in taking the infinitive mood for the indicative, and that the clause imported no more, but the King resolved to maintain that government of the Church, which at any time coming, should be the legal government.—Providence cleared and confirmed this interpretation."

in which he himself acted a conspicuous part, in order to effect the overthrow of the national Church, annulled all the assemblies, and even some of the parliaments held within, in the course of the previous thirty years. Such examples, it is true, ought to have been forgotten on the return of more peaceful times; though, in the present case, it is not surprising that the speech of Lord Crawford received less attention than the soundness of his reasoning, considered in the abstract, unquestionably deserved.

This statute, commonly known by the name of the Act Recissory, was followed by another, entitled, an "Act concerning Religion and Church government." In this last, his Majesty expresses his resolution to maintain the true Protestant religion, in its purity of doctrine and worship, as it was established within this kingdom, during the reigns of his royal father and grandfather, of blessed memory; and as to the government of the Church, it was enacted that, he would make it his care to settle and secure the same, in such a frame as should be most agreeable to the word of God, most suitable to monarchical government, and most complying with the public peace and quiet of the kingdom. In the mean time, he was pleased to allow the present administration by sessions, presbyteries, and synods, notwithstanding the preceding act against all pretended parliaments<sup>1</sup>.

In 1649, the patrons of Churches in Scotland had been deprived of the right of presenting to vacant cures. It was now deemed proper to restore this privilege to the original owners; the parliament

<sup>1</sup> Acts of first parliament of Charles II.

directing all who enjoyed it, to "be careful that they grant presentations only to such as shall have given sufficient evidence of their piety, loyalty, literature, and peaceable disposition, and who shall take the oath of allegiance before they receive the presentation."

As it was impossible to mistake the intention of such enactments, some of the clergy who had been little attached to the presbyterian form, even during the ascendancy of the Covenant, now ventured to express their sentiments in public. The Synod of Aberdeen, especially, drew up a humble address to the King, the Commissioners, and the Parliament; in which, after alluding to the principal events that had occurred during the civil war, they proceed as follows: "And since it hath pleased the King's Majesty, and his High Court of Parliament, because of the overreaching of many ministers in Scotland, and their out-stretching of Presbyterial government into civil concernments, to take away and rescind all laws and acts whereby the government of this Church had any civil authority; may it therefore please the Commissioners' grace, and the High Court of Parliament, to join with us in this our earnest petition, and to transmit the same to his sacred Majesty, that he will allow us to be still under his protection, and that he may be pleased in his wisdom and goodness to settle the government of this rent Church, according to the word of God and the practice of the ancient primitive Church, in such a way as may be most consistent with royal authority, and may conduce most for godliness, unity, peace, and order, and for a learned, godly, peaceable, and loyal ministry, that

shall be capable and willing to preserve the peace of the three nations<sup>1</sup>."

Before taking the final step for rebuilding the Scottish Church according to the ancient model, Charles was desirous to consult still farther some of the northern noblemen and clergy. With this view, the Earls of Rothes and Glencairn repaired to court, whither also, were summoned the two ministers, Douglas and Sharp, who were understood to possess the greatest weight amongst their brethren. The former, on account of his age and declining health, begged to be excused from undertaking so long a journey; and hence, the sole representative of the Presbyterian interest, on this occasion, was the future Primate, already nominated a royal Chaplain and Professor at St. Andrew's. A council was convened at Whitehall, to deliberate on ecclesiastical affairs; by whom, after some discussion, it was resolved to concur with his Majesty's intentions, and a proclamation was accordingly issued, declaring it to be the King's pleasure "to restore the government of the Church by Archbishops and Bishops, as it stood settled in the year 1637<sup>2</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Synod-books of Aberdeen, as quoted by Mr. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 451. This address is also contained in "The true and important account of the Life of the most Reverend Father in God Dr. James Sharp," p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> The author of the Life quoted in the last note, relates that this resolution was agreed to by all present, except the Earl of Lauderdale, who openly entered his dissent; and coming out, met Mr. Sharp walking with the Earl of Stirling, to whom, with an austere voice and threatening gesture, he expressed these words: "Mr. Sharp, Bishops you are to have in Scotland; you are to be Archbishop of St. Andrew's; but whoever shall be the man,

It is said that Sharp, who returned to Edinburgh about the end of August, was authorized by the Sovereign to make offers of preferment to the most loyal and influential among the preachers, and particularly to Mr. Douglas, whom he was desirous to gain. This respected minister is represented as having replied, with no less modesty than charity, in these words: "Brother, I render his Majesty a thousand thanks; but I have dipt so far in oaths, and the concerns of the late troubles, and particularly in my sermon before the King at his coronation; and being now turned aged and infirm, I want strength to sustain the weight of the office, and the difficulties I should be obliged to encounter. But if you can comply, who are young and not under the same engagements, I neither can nor will blame you." It is added, that his temper was so moderate and christian, that he was always a hearer of the Episcopal ministers, and received the sacrament from their hands, till the Indulgence ensued, which he thought absolved him from that necessity<sup>1</sup>.

As all the Scottish prelates expelled by the Assembly of 1638, had, with only one exception, died in the interval, it became necessary to renew the Episcopal

by God I will smite him and his order below the fifth rib.' And his lordship was indeed as good as his word, in many subsequent instances." p. 54.

<sup>1</sup> Kirkton gives a different edition of this story, not quite so much in harmony with the charity and modesty attributed to the character of Douglas. "James," said he, "I see you will engage, I perceive you are clear, you will be Bishop of St. Andrew's; take it, and the curse of God go with it." So clapping him on the shoulder, he shut his door upon him. History, p. 135.



succession by consecrations in England. A commission was accordingly issued to the Bishops of London and Winchester, who with the assistance of others, raised to the highest order of the priesthood, Sharp, Fairfowl, Hamilton and Leighton. To these were respectively assigned the sees of St. Andrew's, Glasgow, Galloway, and Dunblane<sup>1</sup>.

(1662.) The Legislature, which met on the eighth of May, ratified, almost unanimously, the proceedings which have now been described. After stating that they find Episcopal government to be most agreeable to the word of God, most convenient and effectual for the preservation of truth, order, and unity, the authors of the Act proceed: "Therefore, his Majesty, with the advice and consent of his Estates of Parliament, hath thought necessary, and accordingly doth hereby redintegrate the state of Bishops to their ancient places and undoubted privileges and jurisdictions, and doth hereby restore them to the exercise of their Episcopal function, presidency in the Church, power of ordination, inflicting of church censures, and all other acts of church discipline, which they are to perform with the advice and assistance of such of the clergy as they shall find to be of known loyalty and prudence." A proclamation had been issued a few months before, forbidding the meeting of synods and presbyteries,

<sup>1</sup> The other sees were filled as follows:—Edinburgh, Dr. Wishart; Aberdeen, Dr. Mitchel; Brechin, Dr. Strachan; Argyle, Dr. Fletcher; Ross, Dr. Paterson; Caithness, Dr. Forbes; Dunkeld, Dr. Haliburton; Moray, Dr. Mackenzie; Orkney, Dr. Sydserf; Isles, Dr. Wallace.

until these ecclesiastical courts should be duly authorized by the Prelates, who were about to enter upon the government of their sees; and hence, the complete restitution of the hierarchy in the Scottish Church may be ascribed to the decisions of the second parliament of Charles II., which convened in the summer of 1662. It may not be unworthy of a passing remark, that the Episcopal Communion which continues to exist northward of the Tweed, has descended regularly from the four Bishops who were consecrated in the Abbey Church of Westminster, on the fifteenth day of December, 1661, after having been ordained deacons and priests in the same place. The apostolical succession has not been again interrupted.

It has been repeatedly asserted by various writers on the side of the Episcopalians, that, the change now mentioned, was not disagreeable to the majority of the people. The opinion of Douglas, given above, was confirmed by an assurance said to have been reiterated by Sharp, that of the Resolutioners, or loyal party, not more than twenty would oppose it; while the Synod of Aberdeen "had as good as petitioned" for the revival of the more ancient form. In short, it is maintained, that the troubles and contentions to which they were subjected during the last twenty-four years, had rendered them heartily disposed to receive an ecclesiastical constitution, likely to secure the enjoyment of uninterrupted peace. As a proof of this, we are informed, that all the moderate Presbyterians attended worship and even received the communion in the parish churches; and in fact, at the period in question, there was scarcely

any outward distinction between the two parties, in faith, discipline, or the manner of performing divine service. The old Confession, drawn up by the first Reformers and ratified in 1567, had, all along, been the received standard of doctrine to both; though the Presbyterians had of late introduced the Westminster Confession, which was in many points different from the former, and in some, directly opposed to it. After the attempt at Edinburgh to read the National Prayer-book, no Liturgy or appointed form was ever used in public worship. We are, indeed, assured that many of the Episcopal clergy compiled forms for the use of their particular congregations, with some petitions and collects taken out of the English Liturgy; and all of them uniformly concluded their devotional exercises with the Lord's Prayer, and their singing with the doxology. The two sacraments, also, were administered by both nearly in the same manner, without kneeling at the one or signing with the sign of the cross at the other; only in baptism the Episcopal clergy required the Apostles' creed, and the Presbyterians in general, the Westminster Confession, and some of the more rigid of them, the Solemn League and Covenant, as the model or directory of the child's religious education. With respect to discipline, the established Church of that day had Kirk sessions, as the Presbyterians have at present; they had their Presbyteries too, where some experienced minister of the Bishop's nomination, acted as their moderator; they had their Diocesan Synods, in which the Ordinary himself, or one by his express appointment, presided; and they might on the same principles have had

their National Synods or General Assemblies, had the King found it expedient to permit their convocation<sup>1</sup>.

Nor had men of tender consciences any reason to complain of the ceremonies, as they were called, which had been enjoined by the Canons of Perth. These obnoxious points were tacitly abandoned; and there was neither surplice nor altar, objects so much detested by all orders of Puritans. The communion tables were placed according to convenience, without any principle of uniform position; there were no chancels; nor were bells ever used except for calling together the congregation at the hour of divine service. In a word, the Episcopal Church of Scotland, in her ceremonial, was so unwilling to give offence to the Presbyterians, that she hardly ventured in any thing to deviate from their own forms. The clergy, it is true, wore gowns and cassocks; but they did not shock the eyes of the ignorant and prejudiced with the sight of that linen robe, which has been used from the earliest times in the ministration of the more sacred rites of Christianity.

As no just offence could be taken at the doctrine or worship of the Episcopalians, so neither could any objection be urged against the amount or distribution of their ecclesiastical revenue. The Primate had £1000 yearly; the Bishops, from £300 to £500; while the income of the inferior clergy varied from £20 to £100; affording to all the suitable means of maintaining their rank, and a respectable livelihood, according to the style of the age, and manners of the

<sup>1</sup> Skinner, vol. ii. p. 467.

country. In short, except the prelatical titles, we perceive scarcely any thing in the Scottish establishment, revived by Charles II. peculiar to an Episcopal Church; and in this way every stumbling-block was removed to a complete and universal conformity among all denominations of Christians. Mr. Calamy, upon being made acquainted with the easy terms upon which those of his persuasion in the northern kingdom might have held communion with the national church, exclaimed, "What would our brethren in Scotland be at, or what would they have? Would to God we had these offers!"

If the sentiments of the nation could have been gathered from the spirit which prevailed in Parliament, it might have been concluded not only that the people were not averse to the change, but that they were extremely desirous to see it accomplished; for the principal Act by which the frame of the Church was altered had to sustain the opposition of only one dissenting voice. There was still among the clergy, however, a considerable party hostile to the views of the King and the Legislature, on this important subject. The Remonstrants who were repressed, but not subdued, regarded with a jealous eye the exercise of the prerogative in favour of Episcopacy, and, at the same time, mourned over the desolation of the Covenant, now scorned, denounced, and rejected. To them, the temper of the government must have appeared Erastian, in the highest degree; demanding on the part of the ministers, such a measure of dependence as could not be reconciled to their notions of spiritual authority. According to their idiom, the crown was thereby

taken from the head of Jesus Christ, and placed upon that of the Sovereign. Besides, the persons selected for preferment were generally taken from that class of the brethren who were always most opposed to their principles; from whom, therefore, they could expect but little kindness, and whose forbearance they would not condescend to solicit

In no part of the world, perhaps, could a new hierarchy be formed, without at once leaving many disappointed, and exciting in the breasts of others a feeling of apprehension or resentment; and in Scotland especially, so long torn by angry passions and divided by the widest differences of opinion on religion and politics, these evils must have been experienced, even under the most judicious management. It was impossible to find in a Presbyterian communion, fourteen persons who could be raised to the high order of Prelates, without giving occasion to charges of apostasy and desertion. Sharp, from the position which he had occupied as well as from the influence attached to his character, was particularly exposed to this imputation; and so inauspicious were the circumstances with which he was surrounded, that escape was impossible, except by resolving, like Douglas, to refuse the mitre. It has been maintained that the individuals actually chosen for Bishops, were, in several respects, unfit for their office; that they were ambitious, secular, proud, and deficient in professional seriousness and decorum: accusations, which, as they must apply more or less to clergymen in all ages, may not have been altogether without foundation, as directed against the dignitaries of the Scottish Church. Burnet, how-

ever, who knew them well, and who was little disposed to raise their merits above their proper level, remarks, that he had "observed among them as great and exemplary things as are to be met with in all ecclesiastical history." The insinuations of their enemies, on the other hand, ought not to be received without due caution and much allowance; for in the conduct of the rigid Covenanters there is nothing more remarkable than their disposition to slander, and the reckless intrepidity with which they scattered around them the most atrocious calumnies. Nor was this unchristian propensity confined to their dislike of the Episcopalians; on the contrary, the two parties of Presbyterians arrayed against each other, during the ascendancy of the Commonwealth, had mutual recourse to the most bitter words; and on one occasion, the Remonstrants described their antagonists, the more loyal class, as "men of depraved habits."

The alliance of the crown has never proved beneficial to the Church in Scotland, both because that union has always been considered as something unholy in itself, and also because the civil power has often hurried the spiritual into measures, which, though not positively wrong, were in many instances, clearly unseasonable. Moreover, there long existed a suspicion that the hierarchical form of government was employed by the monarch to serve purposes more closely connected with arbitrary power than with piety or virtue, and that the weight of a great ecclesiastical establishment was interposed to check the current of popular innovation in political affairs. Episcopacy, too, had been associated in the national mind with popish superstition and regal tyranny, while

the efforts of the avowed Presbyterians, though, on many occasions, quite inconsistent with every species of civil authority, wore the aspect of freedom, and set at defiance, in a manner always agreeable to the mass of the people, the threats and expostulations of their superiors.

The Scottish Church, in the reign of Charles the Second, laboured under another disadvantage. The noblemen who conducted the government, and who, affecting to participate in their master's zeal for building up the ecclesiastical fabric, proceeded in haste to accomplish the meditated change, were persons of very loose habits. Making allowance for the tendency to exaggeration which marks the writings of all the polemics of that age, we cannot shut our eyes to the evidence adduced by them, when animadverting upon the intemperance of Middleton, Lauderdale, and Rothes. "They were," says Bishop Burnet, "so openly impious and vicious, that it did cast a reproach on every thing relating to religion, to see it managed by such instruments." In the statutes, too, which they enacted, they injudiciously connected all restraint upon the preaching, praying, writing, and printing of the opposite party, with his Majesty's royal prerogative and supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, as also with the government of the Church by archbishops and Bishops, as it is settled by law. Hence the nation, alarmed for its civil institutions, became jealous of a body whose rights seemed to imply a certain incompatibility with the enjoyment of freedom, the desire for which was every day gaining strength. In truth, the spirit of the Solemn League and Covenant was not yet extinct. The



followers of Rutherford, who were deeply imbued with the sentiments of the "Lex Rex,"—the most republican work of the age—were not prepared to submit to an administration who assumed the power of determining the outward form of the Church, and insisted that clergymen, relinquishing political discussions in the pulpit, should confine themselves to the peculiar duties of their office. Even those who represented Charles as "gifted to his people in return of their prayers," and declared that "their expectations were fixed on him as the man of God's right hand, who will refresh the hearts of all the lovers of Zion," were not prepared for the extension of his favour to any besides themselves. There prevailed, indeed, every where a love of liberty; but, in that rude age, this desire amounted to nothing more, in any sect of Christians, than a wish to be free from all restraint in their own persons, and to have the privilege of imposing it upon others. The public mind had not yet risen to any feeling of respect or affection for free institutions. On the contrary, as we shall see hereafter, toleration was deprecated as a great offence to God, and as a positive injury to his Church<sup>1</sup>.

For example, when Dr. Sharp, immediately after the Restoration, received instructions from Mr. Douglas, in the name of his brethren, as to the objects which he should endeavour to secure at court, he is desired to inform the King, that "he needs not declare any liberty to tender consciences here." Nay, so far from soliciting such a concession, the sagacious

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's Life of Bishop Bedel. Wodrow, vol. i. p. 35.

presbyter takes credit to his party for having duly abstained from such a breach of Christian steadfastness. "It is well known," says he, in the same paper, "that in all the times of the prevailing of the late party (the Cromwellian independents) in England, none here petitioned for toleration, except some inconsiderable naughty men." The reason assigned for not asking the King to declare any liberty to tender consciences in Scotland, was, that "the *generality* of the people and whole ministry have embraced the religion established by law, with his Majesty's consent." But Mr. Douglas had himself expressly stated to Sharp, that the *generality* of the new generation shewed no love to presbyterial government; that they were wearied of that yoke, and fed themselves with the fancy of episcopacy. It may therefore be concluded that the true reason why toleration was abjured, had some reference to the predilection of those younger persons who did not inherit their fathers' zeal for the Covenant, and who, if allowed, might have followed a different course<sup>1</sup>.

The first proceeding which brought the government into collision with the presbyterians, was connected with the law of patronage. Parliament, as we have found, deemed it expedient to restore to the owners the right of presentation; a measure which probably recommended itself to all who had witnessed the disgraceful scenes encouraged by the Remonstrants. But the Act, by an almost necessary implication, declared that no incumbent who had been appointed since the abolition of patronage, had any legal right

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow, vol. i. p. 22.

to his benefice. Actuated, however, by a feeling of tenderness towards those who, during the last twelve years, had owed their preferment to the sole voice of the people, the legislature provided, that all pastors who should obtain presentations from the patrons, should be continued in their livings, if they were collated by the Bishops of their respective dioceses. With this view it was rendered imperative upon holders of advowsons to present all such incumbents as might apply to them, before the 20th day of September in the current year<sup>1</sup>.

This law, whatever might be its immediate object, could not fail to put to a severe test those preachers who, in the words of the Solemn League and Covenant, had sworn to extirpate prelacy, as a weed which had crept into the spiritual vineyard. In most parts of the country, however, it was administered so tenderly, that no practical inconvenience resulted. But in the south-western districts, where the clergy were of a more ardent temperament, a great number refused to accept collation ; being resolved to relinquish their pastoral duties, rather than yield compliance to the dictate of Parliament. The Archbishop of Glasgow, in whose province the disaffected districts were comprehended, irritated at the obstinacy of the ministers, complained to Middleton, who, as royal commissioner, was at the head of the Privy Council. An order was forthwith issued, prohibiting all clergymen who had contravened the Act respecting benefices, from exercising any part of their functions in

<sup>1</sup> Act 2, Session First, Parl. Charles II. Murray's Collection of Acts.

their parishes; declaring their places vacant; and commanding them, within a limited period, to remove beyond the bounds of their several presbyteries. The people were also forbidden to attend their service, under pain of being punished as frequenters of private conventicles<sup>1</sup>.

This ill-timed severity produced not the effect which the authors of it contemplated. More than two hundred ministers resigned their livings, rather than have their induction confirmed by the deed of a Bishop. They had hoped, it is surmised, that the retirement of so great a number would induce the government to pause, and even entreat them to resume their charges. Their resolution, too, was strengthened by the example displayed in England on St. Bartholomew's day, when a still more numerous band of dissentients retired from the Establishment. Besides, like true members of the Church militant, they had not forgotten the conditions of the warfare in which they were engaged. Only twenty-four years had passed, since, in the very irregular Assembly at Glasgow, to which the clergy were not allowed to choose their own representatives, the hierarchy was overthrown, most of the Bishops excommunicated, and all the parochial ministers who would not succumb, were expelled from their cures. Unfortunately, at that period in the history of Scotland, no violence wanted a precedent; and those who sat at one epoch by the streams of their Babel, meditating

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow, vol. i. p. 265. Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. pp. 259, 260. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 460. Cook, vol. iii. p. 267.

or praying for revenge, had only, when forming their plans of retribution, to think how they themselves had been used in the day of their enemies' power. But in 1662, though Christian charity was not violated to a greater extent than in 1638, and certainly with much more countenance of law, Christian wisdom, or at least common policy, was too little consulted by the statesmen and prelates who governed the country. The entrants, under the popular system, however unconstitutional that system might be deemed, ought to have been allowed to remain in their charges without any formal collation; because it could not fail to be apprehended that men, who would rather renounce their baptism than the Covenant, would not acknowledge that their authority to minister in the Church proceeded from a Bishop<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Burnet (vol. i. p. 264) mentions, that the incumbents in the west were for the most part Protesters (or Remonstrants), a grave, solemn sort of people. Their spirits were eager, and their temper sour, but they had an appearance which created respect. Their faults and defects were not conspicuous. They had a very scanty measure of learning, and a narrow compass in it. They were little men, of a very indifferent size of capacity, and apt to fly out into great excess of passion and indiscretion. They were servile, and too apt to fawn and flatter their admirers. They were affected in their deportment, and very apt to censure all who differed from them, and to believe and report whatsoever they heard to their prejudice. And they were superstitious and haughty. In their sermons they were apt to enlarge on the state of the present time, and to preach against the sins of princes and courts; a topic that naturally makes men popular. It has an appearance of courage; and the people are glad to hear those sins insisted on, in which they perceive they have no share, and to believe that all the judgments of God come down by the means and procurement of other men's sins. But their

The Primate is said to have condemned this step, the bad effects of which the most inconsiderate must have foreseen. To obviate the palpable inconvenience arising from the simultaneous resignation of so many incumbents, an Act was passed, extending the time for receiving presentations and induction; the government hoping, perhaps, that this resolute aspect on their part, and the experience of suffering on the other, might induce some of the deserters to return to their posts. But in this expectation the sovereign authorities were miserably disappointed. To supply the vacancies thus created, a number of young men were invited from the north, who being regarded by the parishioners as intruders, were received with very little kindness or respect. It may be true, as has been usually asserted, that their learning and professional acquirements were not of a very high order; a deficiency which, taken by itself, would not have been deeply felt by their rustic audiences. But what was of more consequence, they were also unacquainted with that familiar mode of instruction to which the more enthusiastic Covenanters had been long accustomed, and with the practice of railing against dignities, which relieved the tedium of the dullest discourse. At all events, they came to occupy the places of men who were endeared to their hearers by the profession of zeal in a common cause, and now by being reduced

opinion about the independence of the Church and clergy on the civil power, and their readiness to stir up the people to tumults and wars, was that which begot so ill an opinion of them at this time in all men, that very few who were not deeply engaged with them in these conceits, pitied them much under all the ill usage they now met with!

to the condition of sufferers for conscience sake. Their moral conduct has likewise been represented in an unfavourable light; but this was nothing more than the necessary result of having offended those intemperate teachers who were wont to avenge any insult or injury by an attack on the reputation of their antagonists, whether presbyterian or episcopal<sup>1</sup>.

It is not concealed by contemporary writers, that the inconvenience occasioned by this resignation of the ministers was intended, and even employed, as a means for embarrassing the government. "Had they stayed," says one of their number, "till they had been turned out forcibly one by one, and their places planted immediately, as Bishop Sharp designed, the change had never been so sensible, nor the opposition to the Bishops so considerable." Besides, it made a deeper impression on the people at large, who were distressed to witness the retirement of so many zealous pastors, without being aware, perhaps, that they might have continued to serve their parishes and instruct their flocks, on the easy conditions of asking a presentation, which they knew would not be refused, and of accepting an induction which would probably not have been enforced. Their precipitancy was accordingly condemned by the wiser part of their congregations, when made acquainted with the motives whence a desertion so general had arisen. "Such was the weakness of the people," observes Kirkton, "that many of them began to censure what they had formerly approven, and the ministers' bitter suffering turned with some rather into offence than an edifying

<sup>1</sup> Burnet's Own Times, vol. i. p. 268.

example. Such was the cloud upon us at that time ; ignorance, scrupulosity, and censure being frequently conjoined in our sad experience<sup>1</sup>."

The party who adopted the line of conduct now described, were, according to the latest historian of the Scottish Church, "factious persons, and hostile to monarchy." Carrying into the ecclesiastical courts, while still under the presbyterian government, the animosities which had been excited in their disputes with the royalists, their meetings "exhibited scenes of contest, of anarchy, and of insubordination, most disgraceful to the clergy, and most pernicious to the moral and spiritual improvement of the community." The judicatories, finding themselves insulted by men who, in order to gain full influence over the people, mixed politics with religion, deposed three, and suspended one of the more turbulent partizans ; upon which the rest retired from the Assembly to concert measures for strengthening their resistance<sup>2</sup>.

(1651.) In this crisis of affairs, the constitutional

<sup>1</sup> Kirkton, p. 152. This author informs his readers that the "honest people encouraged their ministers to enter upon the course of suffering, and were so far from being dissatisfied with them, that they praised God for their honesty and constancy." But a little reflection appears to have convinced a portion of them that they might have retained their pastoral office without sacrificing their conscience. It was probably in allusion to this occurrence, that the Rev. Alexander Peden, a member of the same theological school, preached as follows : "You that are the people of God, be not too forward upon suffering, except you be sure he call you to it. O, saith Peter, Master, I will die for thee. Peter was too forward. Stay, man, says Christ, till once I bid thee ; and I trow Peter got the braid of his back to learn him more wit in the time to come."

<sup>2</sup> Cook, vol. iii. p. 210.



presbyterians were ready to make every concession which did not imply the relinquishment of their principles ; but this calmness only inflamed still more, if possible, the violence of their adversaries. They disregarded the calamities which their obstinacy could not fail to occasion ; they evaded the oath by which they were bound to obey the General Assembly, by declaring that they considered it as shackled and corrupted ; and “ they began to act in a manner which shows how readily men can render religious principles subservient to the gratification of passions which religion restrains or condemns.” They appealed to the people, whose favour they laboured by all means to secure ; they arrogated to themselves the appellation of the godly ; and insinuated or affirmed, that all who were opposed to them were men of bad characters, and strangers to the spirit of the Gospel. They collected numbers of ministers, elders, and private Christians in meetings not recognized by the Church ; and after prayer, by any disposed to offer it, and a confession of sins, they discussed upon what the established judicatories alone were competent to decide, and even blamed what these judicatories had sanctioned. “ To raise their popularity, they had recourse to methods which, in a religious point of view, were perhaps still more exceptionable. In celebrating the Lord’s Supper, they departed from the decent mode which had been prescribed, and which required that the minister of each parish should dispense it ; and assembling immense multitudes from contiguous parishes, they employed the most fervent of the clergy to deliver numerous sermons ; they inflamed the prejudices and the enthusiastical zeal of those who listened to them ;

and they thus rendered an ordinance, graciously intended to be the bond of charity, instrumental in cherishing the worst dispositions, and withdrawing their flocks from those pastors who adhered to the Church.”—“ When they had gained a decided ascendancy over the minds of the people, they began to withdraw from their more moderate brethren, and associating in presbyteries, conducted their proceedings as if they had been exclusively invested with ecclesiastical power.”—“ Such systematic opposition to the discipline which they affected to revere, could not have been continued, had not the authority of government been relaxed, and had they not been supported by those commissioners from the English Parliament who really administered the affairs of Scotland. Their enmity to Charles formed a tie which connected the Protesters with the commonwealth.” The friends of Cromwell, we are told, considered them as more worthy of confidence than the ministers who still professed a regard for the exiled monarch; and they readily listened to their requests and representations. “ Thus aided by the commissioners, who were invested with power to remove or to confirm ministers, according to their political sentiments, the Protesters interfered with the nomination of pastors; objected, without respect to the wishes of the people, or the piety of the person, to all who were not of their party; and with the most arbitrary and oppressive officiousness, often ejected incumbents who had long been settled, and whose exemplary lives they did not venture to dispute. They succeeded in procuring from the English judges and sequestrators an order that no minister

should be entitled to the emoluments of his benefice till he produced a certificate, subscribed by four clergymen authorized to grant it; and they thus got into their own hands the patronage of the greater number of livings." "Although, after the death of the Protector, the violence of the Protesters was in some degree lessened, their formal separation from the Church was anticipated; and this separation was considered by the Resolutionists as the only event which could secure tranquillity<sup>1</sup>."

It was of this class of men, whom no severity could repress, and no forbearance could conciliate, even while enjoying their favourite system of presbytery, that the dissentients consisted who left their churches upon the Glasgow proclamation. They had already treated with contempt the authority and admonitions of the General Assembly; they had formed conventicles which despised communion with the more regular clergy; they had laboured to withdraw the congregations of their moderate brethren, to expel these brethren from the Church, and to assume the government of it into their own hands. They had, in fact, proceeded so far as to threaten the supreme judicatory with a formal secession—an event which,

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. iii. pp. 200. 209—216. In giving the character of the Protesters, Remonstrants, or Remonstrators (for all these terms have been applied to them), I have preferred the account of their principles and conduct, as exhibited by a presbyterian writer of the best credit, to any which I might have gathered from authors on the other side. For the same reason I have adhered to the words of Dr. Cook, instead of presenting his description in the form of an abstract. The reader will observe, that this description applies to the time of the Commonwealth, when the Remonstrants were in favour, and under presbyterian rule.

instead of being viewed with apprehension, was considered as the only means now remaining of securing repose to the other members of the Establishment.

A party so refractory and unmanageable, under a scheme of ecclesiastical polity which they believed to be divine, were not likely to prove more complying when subjected to the superintendence of bishops. It cannot therefore be surprising, that finding themselves urged by a measure which brought their obedience to the test, they should have realised their menace, and resigned their charges. They meant not, however, to relinquish their pastoral relations with their people, many of whom extolled their firmness, and honoured their apparent self-denial; but, on the contrary, they resolved to remain in the neighbourhood, to pursue their wonted course, to hold meetings in private houses or in the fields, and to set at defiance all authority, whether spiritual or civil. The new incumbents, accordingly, were received in most of their parishes with clear demonstrations of a preconcerted hostility. In some places, it is related, they were welcomed with tears, and with requests to be gone; in others, with reasoning and disputes; in others with affronts and indignities. Sometimes the clapper of the church bell was stolen; sometimes the doors were barricadoed; sometimes the unfortunate presentee was saluted with a volley of stones. On one occasion a boxful of ants was emptied into a clergyman's boots on his way to the pulpit. "I have known," says Kirkton, "some profane people, that, if they committed an error over night, thought affronting a curate to-morrow a testimony of their repentance." As

on former emergencies of a similar nature, the lowest class of women were now also employed for the purposes of insult and intimidation ; and so resolute were they in their attacks, that not only the unpopular ministers gave way before them, but even the magistrates and the military<sup>1</sup>.

(1663.) To counteract the violence of the popular party, there was enacted by Parliament, in the summer of this year, a statute against separation and disobedience of ecclesiastical authority, which ordained that "all persons who shall hereafter ordinarily and wilfully withdraw and absent themselves from the ordinary meetings of divine worship in their own parish church on the Lord's day, whether upon account of popery or other disaffection to the present government of the Church, shall thereby incur the pains and penalties underwritten." Then it goes on to state, that every nobleman, gentleman, and land-

<sup>1</sup> Kirkton, p. 162. "No man durst appear in such a business, nor any woman of fashion ; only the poorest women of the parish gathered, and one Margaret Smith for their leader." It is added in a note by the Editor, that a "party with some messengers was sent with a curate to intimate that another curate was to enter that Kirk for their ordinar. Some women of the parish hearing thereof before, placed themselves in the Kirk-yard, and furnished themselves with their ordinary weapons of stones, whereof they gathered store, and thus, when the messengers and party of rascals with swords and pistols came, the women so maintained their ground, defending themselves under the Kirk dyke, that after a hot skirmish, the curate, messengers, and party without, not presuming to enter, did at length take themselves to retreat, with the honourable blae (blue) marks they had got at the conflict. Many such affronts did these Prelates' curates meet in their essays to enter Kirks, after that manner, especially by women."—*Memoirs of the Rev. John Blackadder, MS.*

owner shall lose the fourth part of each year's rent in which they shall be convicted ; that every yeoman, tenant, and farmer, shall forfeit such a proportion of their moveables as his Majesty's Council shall think fit, not exceeding a fourth part thereof; and that every burgess shall be deprived of liberty of trading and all other privileges within borough, as also of the fourth part of his moveables. In addition to these, a discretionary power was given to the Council to inflict corporal punishment, and to summon to their bar all who, after being admonished by their clergyman before two competent witnesses, should be accused as transgressors of the Act<sup>1</sup>.

This law, which was copied from the statute against conventicles, already passed in England, received the approbation of an immense majority in Parliament, among whom were not a few who had distinguished themselves as advocates for the Covenant. In its penalties, too, it bore some resemblance to one which, at an earlier period, was pointed against the Roman Catholics, whom the public magistrate was empowered to punish for non-conformity in goods and person. It is unnecessary to condemn the spirit of such legislation, which placed at the mercy of their most inveterate enemies, a large portion of his Majesty's subjects, for every reader must perceive, that it was utterly inconsistent with the simplest principles of liberty. But toleration, it is well known, was not yet any where admitted, either as the theory or practice of the constitution.

<sup>1</sup> See Acts of the third Session of Parliament of Charles II. Burnet's own Times, vol. i. p. 352.

(1664.) Nor was the statute now mentioned, allowed to remain a dead letter. Fines were exacted, in many instances, from those who absented themselves from public worship, especially if they were known to frequent conventicles, or to be otherwise disaffected towards the government. But as these measures, either from the lenity with which they were pressed, or from the increasing obstinacy of the people, did not prove effectual, it was deemed expedient to strengthen the hands of the executive by the erection of a Court of High Commission, vested with authority to judge and determine in all cases of ecclesiastical offence. This tribunal consisted of all the prelates, the Lord Chancellor, and about thirty laymen; and five members, a Bishop being one, constituted a quorum. The business, generally speaking, was to put into vigorous execution all acts of Parliament and of the Privy Council, which had from time to time been enacted for preserving the peace and order of the Church. In the discharge of the duties thereby imposed upon them, the commissioners imprisoned some and fined others; while the younger class of offenders, instigated, it is probable, by culprits of greater age and experience, were publicly whipped. But this formidable Board was not long permitted to spread the terror of its power among the ignorant and infatuated peasantry, against whom its denunciations were most commonly fulminated; for the King, listening to representations of several among the nobility, as well as of the more moderate churchmen, issued orders that it should be dissolved. The people, it is said, “grew sullen on this ill usage :

many were undone by it, and went over to the Scots in Ulster, where they were well received, and had all manner of liberty as to their way of religion<sup>1</sup>."

It was not to be expected, that a class of religionists, long accustomed to dictate to the civil government, would patiently submit to have their consciences enthralled, and their worship restrained. They were accordingly found to frequent the forbidden assemblies in the fields or in the ministers' houses; prepared to repel force by force; and to appeal, from what they esteemed an unchristian despotism, to the first principles of human society, which teach men to measure their allegiance by the degree of security they enjoy.

(1665.) Such commotions almost necessarily led to a civil war; for the government of Charles, however much some of them might regret the impolicy of the proclamation issued by the Earl of Middleton, could not consent to witness so wanton an infraction of law. As the unsettled state of the country, during the late troubles which were yet scarcely composed, had at once diminished the influence of the local authorities, and accustomed the people to the use of arms, recourse was had to the employment of regular troops to repress the spirit of insurrection in the disturbed districts. The command was entrusted to Sir

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. i. pp. 356—362. The Bishop, (then about twenty-one years of age,) says, he expostulated both with the Earl of Lauderdale and Sharp. The Primate paid no attention to him; but the nobleman said, he was persuaded that the Archbishop would ruin all, and that he was resolved "to give him line." "I thought," adds Burnet, "he was acting the Earl of Traquair's part, giving way to all the follies of the Bishops, on design to ruin them." Perhaps this might be one of the blows "under the fifth rib."



James Turner, a soldier of an active and somewhat harsh temper, which was certainly not improved by his early service under the Covenanters, in the course of which he was compelled to be a spectator, if not a participant, in the two horrid massacres at Dunnavearty and Duart, where not fewer than three hundred men were put to death in cold blood, merely for fighting under the banners of the King<sup>1</sup>. He was directed to quarter his dragoons on the most disorderly of the people, and to levy such fines as were imposed for non-conformity, as well as for disaffection during the times of the commonwealth. This method of punishing the refractory and diminishing the resources of political foes, was introduced by the presbyterians at the beginning of the intestine broils, when, under the domination of the Council of Estates, they imposed on recusants the severities of free quarters, fines, cess, and similar burdens hitherto unknown in Scotland. All these instruments of oppression were employed during that crusade in support of the Covenant, in which Montrose and other leaders, who afterwards joined the royal standard, lent their arms to the cause of the Kirk. Turner, whose experience in such matters, may have recommended him to the ruling powers, has been accused of extortion and cruelty, while executing the orders with which he was entrusted against the landowners in the west; and although, in his *Memoirs*, he makes a good defence, proving that he never levied above half the fine inflicted on any one delinquent, there can be no doubt that his exactions created much suffering and vexation.

<sup>1</sup> Turner's *Memoirs*, pp. 45—47. "Mr. John Nave, who was appointed by the Commission of the Kirke, to waite on

(1666.) The people, indignant at the systematic cruelty which they were doomed to endure, and confident, perhaps, in their means of accomplishing a successful resistance, determined to take the field. Having made Sir James a prisoner at Dumfries, they pursued their plan of revenge till they arrived at the Pentland Hills, in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, expecting that the inhabitants of the metropolis would join in their attempt to conquer better terms from a tyrannical government. But the ardent spirit which animated the Protesters in the pastoral districts of the south-west, was little felt in Lothian, where the influence of the Resolutioners had prevailed. The gates of the city were accordingly shut, and the insurgents left to their own strength and councils. Nor were they materially deficient in either; for the wars which so long awakened the courage of the borderers, had inured them to the fatigues of the march, the danger of battle, and even the professional use of their armour. Turner describes their cavalry as well provided with sword and pistol; their infantry with musket and pike; while some less orderly displayed scythes, hay-forks, and staves. He saw two of their squadrons go through their exercise with great rapidity and precision; remarking, at the same time, that their foot were the lustiest he ever saw,

him as his chaplaine, never ceased to tempt him to that bloodshed; yea, and threatened him with the curses which befel Saul, for sparing the Amalakites, for with them his theologic taught him to compare the Dunavertie men. And I verily believe that this prevailed most with David Lesley, who looked upon Nave as the representative of the Kirk of Scotland." See also pp. 189, and Appendix 236, &c.

and that they kept their ranks in the most wretched roads and bad weather. They proved not, however, equal to the force led against them by Generals Drummond and Dalziel, for they were defeated with considerable loss at Rullion Green, though it is admitted, on the part of their enemies, that they fought desperately<sup>1</sup>.

The severities which followed the suppression of this rebellious movement, did, perhaps, little honour either to the clemency or the wisdom of his Majesty's government. That every one who appeared in arms against his Sovereign, had forfeited his life, admits not of any doubt; but a distinction ought to have been made between the leaders and their less guilty followers, who had been seduced into treason under the most false and deceitful pretences. The object of the former, it is now ascertained, embraced a complete revolution in Church and State, which they hoped to accomplish by the assistance of foreign powers. The principal persons who embarked in this scheme, had for some time carried on a correspondence with the United Provinces, then at war with England, and even received promises of aid from that

<sup>1</sup> Turner's Memoirs, p. 186. Sir James mentions the singular language in which one of the preachers, named Robinson, sought the aid of Omnipotence as their second; "And if thou wilt not be our secondarie, we will not fight for thee at all, for it is not our cause, but thine own; and if thou wilt not fight for it, neither will we." Burnet mentions, that the people were deceived by the assurance that the whole country was in their favour, and ready to rise; "but finding neither town nor country declare for them, and that all the hopes their leaders had given them proved false, they lost heart." vol. i. p. 408.

quarter. This will be made manifest by the following extract from the register of the Secret Resolutions of the States General, dated 15th July, 1666. "It was notified in the Assembly, that overtures had been made by certain friends of religion, in the dominions of the King of Great Britain, who had resolved, without delay, to seize upon the first good opportunity for vindicating from constraint and oppression the reformed worship of God, to take arms, and do their utmost to get possession of some or more towns or fortresses lying in the fore-said King of Great Britain's dominions. Their High Mightinesses, therefore, feel themselves here called upon to give assurance that how soon soever they shall be masters of one or more such towns or forts, assistance shall be promptly sent to them, and arms and munition of war expedited to such town<sup>1</sup>."

Nor was the Scottish government without information that some such plot was concerted, and even that the disturbances in the West were connected with a scheme for inviting an enemy into the country. As a proof of this, when M'Kail, one of the cle-

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Veitch, Brysson, and Wallace, edited by Dr. M'Cree, p. 378. Among the articles to be sent are the following: "For the foot 3,000 muskets, 1,000 matchlocks, 1,500 pikes, with side-arms for the musketeers and pikemen, and ten brass field-pieces: for the cavalry, 2,000 brace of pistols, all with snap-locks, and 1,000 horsemen's carabines. Besides the supplies in arms and ammunition, a subsidy of 150,000 *gulden* was promised. The Extract is signed by the President, Van Vryberg; and the Pensionary, De Witt, intimates formally, that "no time shall be lost in getting every thing ready in conformity with the resolution of the States General, when wanted."

rical insurgents, was taken prisoner, his brother, a physician, interceded with the Archbishop of St. Andrew's for his life. The Primate replied, that he would befriend the captive minister, if he would reveal the mystery of the plot; for, "there was indeed a plot to have surrendered the castles of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Dumbarton, in July, that year, and the chief contrivers failing, nothing was done<sup>1</sup>."

These facts constitute at once a reason and an apology for some of the punishments which were inflicted after the defeat at Pentland. The number who lost their lives was not great; and all of them would have been pardoned, had they consented to renounce the Covenant, that bond of sedition and source of rebellion: so, as Burnet remarks, they were really a sort of martyrs for it. Most of them were but mean and inconsiderable men in all respects. The arm of the law, it is to be regretted, did not reach those who were really guilty, the authors of the rebellion; for, to this day, it is not known who the individuals were who solicited an army from the coast of Holland, to drive the King from his throne, and who consented to accept from a people actually at war with him, treasure, arms, and ammunition<sup>2</sup>.

(1667.) Having secured a brief triumph for the cause of order, the government, at the suggestion of his Majesty, adopted a more lenient course; holding out to all who had taken part in the late insurrection, a complete indemnity, on condition of their signing what was called "a Bond of Peace," requiring

<sup>1</sup> *Memoirs of Veitch*, &c. p. 36, note.

<sup>2</sup> *Skinner*, vol. ii. p. 471. *Burnet*, vol. i. p. 411.

from them nothing more than a promise of obedience to the civil authority. Of this offer the more respectable class willingly availed themselves; the boon being rejected by none except the very rigid Presbyterians, and persons in the lowest rank of life, who had been taught to suspect a snare. It was even proposed to grant an Indulgence to the more moderate of the deprived ministers, by which, under certain conditions, they might be allowed to hold parishes and perform the stated duties; and although this conciliatory measure was delayed some time, owing to an attempt to assassinate Archbishop Sharp, it was at length, in the summer of 1669, carried into effect. A considerable number of Presbyterian clergymen were restored to their office under the protection of this new law; resuming their parochial labours, with a suitable feeling of gratitude, and an apparent determination to observe the stipulations to which they had become bound.

But this dutiful and submissive conduct soon alienated from them the fervid adherents of the Covenant. Many of their hearers, observing that they confined their preaching to the great truths of the gospel, and carefully avoided political discussions, branded them as traitors to the great work to which they ought to have borne testimony; deriding them as the King's curates and dumb dogs. This assault on the reputation and usefulness of the reinstated Presbyters, was greatly encouraged by those of their own order, whose violent principles excluded them from the benefit of the Indulgence; and who, by insinuating that the others were acting as agents of the Sovereign, again induced their flocks to repair to

conventicles, where the most inflammatory topics were discussed in a manner suited to their prejudices and enthusiasm<sup>1</sup>.

(1670.) The tendency of these measures was deemed prejudicial to the interests and discipline of the Church, inasmuch as all who acceded to the terms of agreement might hold cures without acknowledging Episcopal authority, or indeed any ecclesiastical superintendence whatsoever. The Archbishop of Glasgow, who took upon him to represent this inconvenience, gave offence to Charles, who, aided by the provisions of the Assertory Act, recently passed, deprived him of his see, and conferred it upon Leighton. The latter prelate, hoping that by the exercise of clemency, as well as by making certain concessions, he might induce the fanatics of the West to submit to the Establishment, proceeded to lay before the principal ministers a series of propositions; surrendering, in fact, so much to their prejudices or scruples as to reserve to the Bishops nothing besides their title and the semblance of official power. A regular conference was held, where the new Archbishop stated his views at some length, and urged many reasons to induce the Presbyterian leaders to acquiesce in his scheme of comprehension. His arguments were enforced, too, by

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, p. 489. This writer rather ungenerously insinuates that those men who preached so long on politics, could not preach on any thing else. "It was said, there was a visible departing of the Divine assistance from those preachers." "They that could have argued about the intrinsic power of the Church, &c., upon which all their sermons had chiefly run for several years, knew very little of the essentials of religion."

Lord Lauderdale, who had been raised to the dignity of Commissioner, and who adopting the sentiments of his royal master, appeared sincerely desirous that theological strife should be brought to a close. But the opposite party shut their ears to all the solicitations which were addressed to them; refusing the accommodation so warmly recommended to their acceptance, and even declined to propose in its stead any other expedient to which they might give their consent<sup>1</sup>.

It is admitted by a writer on their own side, that had they accepted the offers which were made to them, they would have been almost universally reinstated in their parishes; the spiritual instruction of the community would have been, to a consider-

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 476. Leighton's plan proceeded on the ground, that the government of the Church should be vested in the Bishops and clergy meeting together in Church judicatories—that the bishops should act only as presidents, and be guided by the majority of presbyters, both in what relates to ordination and jurisdiction; that a negative voice should not be claimed by the Bishops; that ordination should take place in the churches destined for the persons to be ordained, and should be with the concurrence of the presbytery; that synods should be held every third year, or oftener, if the King should summon them, at which complaints against the Bishops might be received, and that upon these complaints being established, the Bishops might be censured. To satisfy the consciences of the ministers, he farther proposed that they should be allowed, when they became members of the ecclesiastical courts, to declare that their doing so was merely to restore peace, but that they did not pledge themselves to admit the presiding of the bishops; and that such as were ordained should be at liberty to declare, whether they thought that the Bishop was only the head of the Presbyters. The laws which settled Episcopacy, and the authority of a national Synod, were to be altered according to this scheme.



able degree entrusted to them, and with the command which they had of the people, they could perhaps have given such a direction to their minds as would have rendered it unwise in government again to attempt changes to which the Presbyterians were decidedly hostile. At this distance of time it would be difficult even to conjecture the motives by which the leading preachers were influenced; but Burnet suggests a circumstance which probably had more weight in their minds than they were willing to acknowledge. "A report was spread among them, which they believed, and had its full effect upon them: it was said, that the King was alienated from the Church of England, and weary of supporting Episcopacy in Scotland, and so was resolved not to clog his government any longer with it; and that the concessions now made did not arise from any tenderness we had for them, but from artifice to preserve Episcopacy: so that they were made believe that their agreeing to them was really a strengthening of that government which was, otherwise, ready to fall with its own weight. And, because a passage of scripture, according to its general sound, was apt to work much on them, that of "touch not, taste not, handle not," was often repeated among them<sup>1</sup>.

By this obstinacy the Presbyterians lost the good

<sup>1</sup> Cook, iii. p. 322. Burnet, vol. i. p. 509. This Bishop, who assisted Leighton at the several conferences, remarks, that the Presbyterians debated about the reasons they should give for rejecting the offers made to them. "In their meetings there was much sad stuff; they named, in some of them, two to maintain the debate, *pro.* and *con.* When we heard what their reasonings were, papers were writ and sent among them in answer to them. But all was lost labour; hot men among

opinion of many who had commiserated their sufferings, and respected their stedfastness. The monarch had even condescended to court their accession by opening the door of preferment to all who would promise obedience to the laws of the land, and their co-operation as ministers of the Gospel in promoting peace among his subjects. He had degraded a Prelate of high rank for venturing to call in question the wisdom or efficacy of such concessions. He had authorized another Bishop to propound a system of comprehension, which, by depriving the Establishment of nearly all its power and peculiarities, would have placed in the hands of the second order of clergymen the actual administration of ecclesiastical affairs. But, so far from thereby gaining any ground in their affections, the number of conventicles continued to increase; to which the men now usually resorted bearing their ordinary arms, and otherwise accoutred in such a way as to be ready for either attack or defence. It cannot, therefore, appear surprising that the fears and resentment of the civil rulers should have been excited, or that they were disposed to adopt more vigorous counsels for the protection of the kingdom against domestic anarchy and foreign invasion <sup>1</sup>.

them were positive: and all of them were full of contentious logic. Two passages of scripture were generally applied to them. To one sort of them, ‘*The fool rageth and is confident* ;’ and to the other, ‘*The best of them is as a briar ; the most upright of them, is sharper than a thorn-hedge.*’—Many poor things were said on their side, which would have made a less mild man than he was lose all patience; but he bore with all their trifling impertinences.”

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 515. This writer, disappointed, perhaps, that his arguments had failed to convince, observes, “the pres-

But in yielding to these feelings, the legislature was induced to proceed too far, both in exalting the prerogative of the King much beyond its constitutional limits, and in restricting in the same degree the freedom of the people. Throughout the whole administration of Lauderdale, which bore many more marks of passion than of political prudence, there is nothing less accountable than his repeated efforts to invest the crown with absolute power in ecclesiastical matters. He is said to have disliked several of the Prelates, while, as a Presbyterian, he was never supposed to entertain any affection for the Church; and assuredly, had he avowed himself the enemy of both, he could not have devised more efficacious means for accomplishing their overthrow. In the month of August, an Act was passed against Conventicles, prohibiting all assembling for religious purposes in the fields; and his Majesty, "considering that these meetings are the rendezvous of rebellion, and tend in a high degree to the disturbance of the public peace, doth therefore statute and declare, that whosoever, without license or authority, shall preach, expound Scripture, or pray at any of these meetings in the field, or in any house where there be more persons than the house contains, so as some of them be without doors, or who shall convocate any num-

byterians may see how much their behaviour disgusted all wise, moderate, and good men, how little sincere and honest they were in it, when the desire of popularity made them reject propositions that come so home even to the maxims they had set up, that nothing but the fear of losing the credit they had with their party, could be so much as pretended for their refusing to agree to them."

ber of people to these meetings, shall be punished with death and confiscation of goods<sup>1</sup>."

This statute armed the government with tremendous powers, which, whether assumed in earnest, or only with the view of exciting a wholesome fear, were little in harmony with the spirit of a free constitution. The Earl of Tweeddale declared to Leighton that the council meant not to carry the law into execution; an assurance which may be supposed to derive some countenance from the unanimity with which it passed in parliament, there being only one dissentient voice among all the members. This fact proves either a great want of public virtue in the Scottish legislators, or a deep feeling of the necessity of coercive measures to preserve the peace of the country; for no assembly, entrusted with the lives and property of a whole nation, would wantonly expose them to hazard, even during three years, except on the principle of submitting to one evil in order to escape a greater<sup>2</sup>.

The spirit of the provincial government, of which Lauderdale still continued to be the head, was modified by a variety of circumstances, some of which were more closely connected with personal ambition and peculiarity of temper, than with any regard to the interests of his Sovereign or the good of the people. Fits of lenity were succeeded by the most severe and sanguinary resolutions; and the Presbyterians, accordingly, who enjoyed occasional glimpses of his favour, were, upon the first rumour of insubordination, committed to prisons, or banished

<sup>1</sup> Acts of Scottish Parliament, 2d session, part ii. Charles II.

<sup>2</sup> The duration of the Act was limited to three years.

to distant settlements. When, notwithstanding his utmost vigilance, he heard that conventicles were not suppressed, he insisted that all noblemen and proprietors of land should sign a bond, that neither they themselves, their families, nor dependents, should be present at these assemblies, and that they should hold no intercourse with those by whom they were frequented. At length, proclaiming a part of the kingdom in a state of rebellion, he sent into the disturbed districts an army of Highlanders, who, little accustomed to discipline amid their own mountains, could not fail to add to the misery of the wretched inhabitants.

When it is considered that Lauderdale, Lord Tweeddale and others who, at this period, directed the affairs of Scotland, were avowed Presbyterians, and had even been violent partizans of the Covenant, it becomes extremely difficult to account for the harshness with which they treated the Non-conformists, as well as for the eagerness they showed to augment the ecclesiastical part of the royal prerogative. Allusion has been already made to the act denominated *Assertory*; by which it was provided "that his Majesty, by virtue of his prerogative, has the ordering and disposing of the external government and polity of the Church, as an inherent right of his crown; and that his Majesty and his successors may settle, enact, and direct such constitutions, acts, and orders concerning the administration of the external government of the Church, and all persons employed in the same, and concerning all ecclesiastical meetings, and matters to be proposed and determined therein, as they in their royal wisdom shall think fit." The Prelates opposed this statute as

having a direct tendency to undermine the Church, by destroying its proper foundations, as also to expose it to just contempt, as resting entirely on the royal pleasure or caprice. It has, indeed, been suggested, that the enactment of it was procured by the enemies of the Episcopal establishment, and especially by those ministers who had resolved to profit by the Indulgence. If the King were exalted to the rank of lawgiver as well as administrator of the Church, it would follow, that the favour extended to such of the Presbyterian clergy as were reinstated in their parishes, was not less valid nor legal than the parliamentary acts which had sanctioned Episcopacy <sup>1</sup>.

It has been already stated, that Burnet, Archbishop of Glasgow, was the first who felt the weight of this new power with which the Sovereign was invested. It may be proper to add that upon the retirement of Leighton, in the year 1674, he was restored to his see by the same authority which had been exerted to deprive him, and that he retained it till 1679, when he was promoted to the primacy, as Archbishop of St. Andrew's <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Skinner, vol. ii. p. 474. "True and impartial Account of the Life of the most Reverend Father in God, Dr. James Sharp," p.66

<sup>2</sup> Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 266, second edition. This writer informs us that "after the defeat of the rebels at Pentland, anno 1666, Archbishop Burnet shewed great inclination to have those people used with lenity; and when their affair came before the Privy Council, he laboured to get their lives spared, and went so far as to transmit an account of the proceedings of the Council against the captive rebels to the English secretary, Sir Henry Bennet, (afterwards Earl of Arlington) to be communicated to the King. This the Earl of Lauderdale took to be such a piece of indignity done to his character, that he threatened the Archbishop with a pursuit of high treason for revealing the King's

Several years passed without any remarkable event affecting either the interests of the Church, or the general welfare of the kingdom. The zeal of the Scottish government meantime displayed its terrors against unlawful assemblies, while the ingenuity of the Covenanters was employed in evading the laws, or in preparing for a more effectual resistance. The agents of Lauderdale were armed with bonds, tests, and oaths, to secure the suspected loyalty of the western counties, but which were calculated to excite no feeling but contempt or indignation, except among cowards and hypocrites. It was, indeed, one of the greatest evils of those unhappy times, that the dominant faction, whatever might be their religious creed, so far from being satisfied with their power over life and fortune, insisted also upon dictating to the conscience, and restraining its privileges.

For example, in the year 1639, immediately after the overthrow of Episcopacy by the violent Assembly at Glasgow, the successful party, supported by a military force, determined to compel uniformity of belief and practice, in religion as well as in politics, among all orders of men. A deputation from their body having reached Aberdeen, "Mr. Robert Douglas, minister of Kirkcaldie, preached before noon. After sermon, he read out the Covenant, and caused the hail towns people to be convened, who had not yet subscribed, both men and women, to stand up before him in the Kirk, and the men subscribed the Covenant. Thereafter the women were urged to

secrets, unless he would make a cession of his office, to which this prelate yielded out of fear, and surrendered the office in the month of December, the year 1669."

swear with their uplifted hands to God, that they did subscribe and swear the Covenant willingly and freely, and from their hearts, and not from any fear or dread that should happen ; syne the Kirk dissolved. But the Lord knows how thir (these) towns people where brought under perjury by plain fear, and not from a willing mind, but tyranny and oppression of these Covenanters, who compelled them to swear and subscribe, suppose they know it was against their hearts <sup>1</sup>."

The oath of supremacy, under the auspices of Lauderdale, took the place which the Covenant had occupied when Argyle and Montrose fought the battles of Presbytery. The spirit was the same in both cases. Men, and even ignorant women, were constrained to make the most solemn asseverations that could be dictated by a furious council or by an intolerant priesthood, on the penalty of losing their property, their freedom, and perhaps their lives. To the sword, which was drawn by either party in support of the abstract tenets of religious faith and the disputed question of Church government, were added, by the lieutenants of Charles, the captious forms of law, which placed that facile monarch at constructive enmity with all his subjects. The "Letters of Intercommuning" and the "Law-burrows," were instruments of tyranny which it was alike impossible to endure or to escape ; the one entailing all the punishment of outlawry, and the other conferring upon the public prosecutor the power of sisting at his bar every person whom he chose to consider unfriendly to the throne. Such enactments, by their

<sup>1</sup> Spalding's History of the Troubles and memorable Transactions in Scotland, in the Reign of Charles I. p. 98. Edition, 1829.



very severity, defeated their own object. Commiseration soon succeeded the feeling of just resentment, even in the hardest hearts; and, in most instances, accordingly, the worst of these statutes were, by an order from the King, either repealed or suspended, almost as soon as they were put in operation. It is not unworthy of remark, considering the levity and easiness of his character, that his Majesty usually interfered in behalf of the Scottish, whenever an account of their sufferings reached his ears.

(1679.) The monotony which had for some time prevailed in the northern government was at length broken, by an event, which, while it called for more active measures of repression, on the one side, led, on the other, to the adoption of a more decided policy, and to the avowal of higher objects. On the third of May, Archbishop Sharp, returning from Edinburgh to St. Andrew's, was waylaid within a few miles of the latter city, and barbarously murdered, in the presence of one of his daughters, who was in the coach with him. The circumstances attending this crime were of the most atrocious nature, and afford an alarming example of the effects of fanaticism on half-civilized minds. An attempt had been formerly made on the life of the Primate, in the streets of the capital, when the Bishop of Orkney, who was in his company, received a severe wound; and that his assassination was premeditated, though not in reference to the time and place at which it actually occurred, is rendered extremely probable by certain facts which were afterwards elicited<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 42, &c. Defoe's *Memoirs of the Church of Scotland*, p. 206. "True and impartial Account,"

It would be uncandid to charge the whole body of Presbyterians with the contrivance or approval of a deed so execrable. There is no doubt, however, that the more intemperate and enthusiastical class

p. 123, &c. The character of the Archbishop has been very variously represented, according to the connections and feelings of the several authors. Burnet, who entertained an undisguised dislike to him, is not to be trusted; and Wodrow, whose undertaking was confined to an exhibition of the sufferings inflicted on the Presbyterians, conceals every thing which might supply an apology or vindication for Sharp. On no occasion does he follow more steadily the advice that was given him, of leaving out "what is merely circumstantial, except where it is necessary for aggravating the crimes of our enemies," than when he delineates the conduct of the Primate. For instance, although the subjoined letter was in his possession when he wrote his History, he carefully refrained from giving it a place in his miscellaneous pages. It is addressed to Sir Archibald Primrose, Lord Register of Scotland, and procured the pardon of the condemned minister. "That your parliamentary acts of justice have been tempered with mercy, I think should not be displeasing, especially since the object of that mercy hath made a confession, which, I hope, may have as binding an influence for converting of those of his way, as his former actings had upon perverting them. I did at my first access to the King, beg that the lives of Mr. Gillespie and Mr. Guthrie might be spared, which his Majesty denied me; but now the recommendation of the parliament, upon a ground which I could not bring, I hope will prevail with so gracious a prince, more merciful than the Kings of Israel. Upon an earnest letter from James Simpson to me, to whom I did owe no great kindness, I begged of the King that he might not be proceeded against for his life and corporal punishment, which his Majesty was graciously pleased to grant to me by a letter for that purpose, directed to my Lord Commissioner. When your Lordship shall hear my inducements, I hope you will not condemn me."—*Wodrow's MSS.* quoted in *Kirkton's History*, p. 113. [Wodrow

extolled the action as worthy of men inspired by Heaven. It spread a universal joy, especially among the Covenanters, whose blind zeal had led them in their books and sermons to recommend the slaughter of their enemies, whom they considered as the enemies of all true piety and seriousness. The exploits of Jael and of Ehud resounded from every pulpit, and were praised as an encouragement and pattern to all the true servants of God. In truth, when due attention is paid to the spirit which burned in the breasts of those fanatics, as well as to the tenor of their public exhortations, it appears surprising that murders were not more frequently committed.

The government, incensed at a proceeding which at once defied their power and menaced their personal safety, enjoined the officers commanding at the several stations in the west, to enforce the laws against conventicles more vigorously, and to apprehend their leaders. To meet this renewed activity on the part of their antagonists, the Covenanters found it expedient to celebrate their worship in larger bodies, and to carry arms for their defence; and in order that their final purpose might be more distinctly understood by those who assembled under their banners, they collected their main force at Rutherglen, a small town in Lanarkshire, where they set forth a declaration against Prelacy, and burnt all the acts of Parliament and of Council, which had

Wodrow shows similar skill in selection, when he omits a part of the letter in which Gillespie promises, if the King would pardon him, to go all lengths in aiding the government to "bring Episcopacy into Scotland." The historian had this letter also in his possession.

established that form of Church government and prohibited field-preachings. For this act of rebellion and insult to the crown, they purposely chose the 29th of May, the anniversary of the Restoration, and previously extinguished the bonfires which had been kindled to commemorate that event. Roused by these daring transactions, Captain Graham, of Claverhouse, afterwards Viscount Dundee, attacked a congregation convened at Loudon-hill, by whom, after a sharp conflict, he was repulsed with considerable loss. The victors, encouraged by their success, and aware that their cause was now at issue with the supreme authority, pushed on to Glasgow, dispossessed the regular clergy, and issued proclamations, in which they announced that they were fighting against the King's supremacy, against popery and prelacy, and against a popish successor<sup>1</sup>.

The resolution displayed on these occasions added greatly to their numbers, which, at length, swelled to about eight thousand men, partly horse, and accompanied by a few cannon. Charles, who now partook of the apprehensions entertained by the Scottish Council, sent his son, the Duke of Monmouth, at the head of a small body of cavalry, with instructions to march against the rebels so soon as he should find himself possessed of a sufficient force. He came up with them at Bothwell-bridge, near

<sup>1</sup> Hume, vol. viii. p. 115. Edition, 1812. Ure's Narrative of the Rising at Bothwell-bridge, p. 470. "R. Hamilton," the commander-in-chief, "said he thought it our duty to appear against all the defections of the times, and not to lay down arms (if the Lord prospered us,) till our Lord were redressed of all the affronts done to him."

Hamilton, where, after an attempt at negociation, he led his troops to the attack, who gained an easy victory over a band of rustics very imperfectly disciplined, and commanded in reality by a committee of preachers, whose voice dictated or controuled the movements of the field. It is said that about seven hundred of the insurgents fell in their confused flight, and that twelve hundred were taken prisoners. Of these all were liberated who would promise to live peaceably; but two hundred and seventy of them, who refused this easy condition, were shipped for Barbados or America, and unfortunately the greater part perished on the voyage. Two of the ministers, Kid and King, who were taken with arms in their hands, were executed as traitors<sup>1</sup>.

This insurrection being commonly regarded as the effect of oppression on sensitive minds, tenderly alive to the interests of religion, has been vindicated as the only means that remained to restore the principles of liberty, and the balance of the constitution. The reader of Scottish history has usually had his attention fixed on the severe laws and cruel privations to which the Covenanters were exposed during their struggles for the ascendancy; without however having laid

<sup>1</sup> Wodrow, vol. iii. pp. 130, 131. The bond, or terms of indemnity, was expressed as follows:—"I, A. B. being apprehended for being at the late rebellion; and whereas, the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, in pursuance of his Majesty's command, have ordained me to be set at liberty, I enacting myself to the effect underwritten: therefore, I bind, oblige, and enact myself in the books of the Privy Council, that hereafter, I shall not take up arms without or against his Majesty, or his authority, as witness my hand." All who acceded to these terms were set at liberty.

before him the well-founded suspicion that the military enterprises of the non-conformists pointed to mightier results than the withdrawal of a bond, or the modification of the King's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical. There is little doubt that the consummation which was at length realized in 1688, was already contemplated, and that the terms of their proclamation against a "popish successor," indicated to the more intelligent of their followers the intention now cherished, of effecting a change of dynasty. There is, in short, much reason to suspect that some great men in the north, in combination with the popular leaders in England, had secretly instigated the Covenanters to proceed to such extremities, and hoped for the same effects that had, forty years before, ensued from the disorders in Scotland. In the letters of Algernon Sidney, there are certain allusions, which shadow forth the private wishes of the patriots with whom he acted. Mr. Hume, too, observes, in reference to Lord Lauderdale, that "he was the chief person who, by his counsel, occasioned the expeditious march of the forces, and the prompt orders given to Monmouth, and thereby disappointed all the expectations of the English mal-contents, who, reflecting on the disposition of men's minds in both kingdoms, had entertained great hopes from the progress of the Scottish insurrection<sup>1</sup>."

It has already appeared that the rising at Pentland,

<sup>1</sup> Sidney's Letters. p. 90. Hume, vol. viii. p. 117. The author of the "True and impartial Account," remarks, "That more than the wild people in Scotland were then framing deep and treasonable designs, I suppose is not to be doubted. Nay, in the court itself, then was there an Absalom and Ahithophel

in 1666, was instigated by traitors, who solicited the aid of the Dutch to overthrow the government; and there is presumptive evidence that similar motives actuated the leading persons in the rebellion which was checked at Bothwell. Ought it, then, to be asserted that the popular party, who led thousands of simple peasants into the field of battle, were influenced solely by religious considerations, and that they sought no more than the privilege of worshipping God, according to the dictates of their consciences? The conflicts of Marston Moor and of Naseby were not more palpable proofs of civil war, aiming at the subversion of the throne, than were the fights of Rullion-green and Bothwell-bridge. In both cases too, so far as the views of the insurgent chiefs may be conjectured, the purity of faith and discipline, was rather the pretext than the cause of their armed associations.

(1680.) Long before the period at which we are now arrived, the distinction between Resolutioners and Remonstrants had entirely ceased, and was succeeded by another, which likewise divided the Presbyterians into two parties, having a respect to the lawfulness or policy of accepting the Indulgence. Those who rejected that boon became gradually more and more republican, and, at length, avowed principles decidedly opposed to monarchical government. Acting under the direction of their preachers, they issued a declaration, in which they asserted, that the King, by his perjury, had forfeited all right to the throne. They then proceeded to abjure him, giving

too, who were stealing away the hearts of the people; and they did not want many abettors, some of whom perhaps, were the king's own servants." p. 72.

an assurance at the same time that, placing themselves under the banner of the Lord Jesus Christ, they would make war against a tyrant and usurper. "They also taught," says Bishop Burnet, "that it was lawful for any to kill him; and that all his party, chiefly those who were episcopal, by adhering to him, had forfeited their lives, so that it was lawful to kill them likewise." A skirmish having taken place between these insurgents and the royal troops, Cameron, one of the ministers, was slain, and a number of his deluded followers were made prisoners. Cargill, another preacher, who had hitherto escaped, embraced the first opportunity that occurred, to excommunicate the King, the Duke of York, and some members of the Privy Council, branding his Majesty as a tyrant, and consigning the whole to the custody of Satan and the pains of eternity<sup>1</sup>.

For a time there appeared to be a contest between severity on the one hand, and stubbornness on the other. Many of the unhappy fanatics were brought to trial and condemned, either for having been in actual rebellion, or for approving the seditious measures which led to it. Had the government been more lenient, the poor ignorant people would, perhaps, have been less extravagant; and had the latter been more sane, the former could not have been pronounced cruel. But violence on the one side, opposed on the other by a blind enthusiasm, produced the most melancholy results. "Numbers of

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. ii. p. 293. "Cargill had been one of the ministers of Glasgow, in the former times, and was then very little considered, but now was much followed, to the great reproach of the nation."



that mad sect," says a contemporary historian, "both men and women suffered with an obstinacy which was so particular, that though the Duke sent the offer of pardon to them on the scaffold, if they would only say, 'God bless the King,' it was refused with great contempt. One of them, a woman, said very calmly, she was sure God would not bless him, and that therefore she would not take God's name in vain. Another said, very sullenly, that she would not worship that idol, nor acknowledge any other king but Christ; and so both were hanged. About fifteen or sixteen died under this delusion, which seemed to be a sort of madness; for they never attempted any thing against any person; only they seemed glad to suffer for their opinions. The Duke stopped that prosecution, and appointed them to be put into a house of correction, and to be kept at hard labour<sup>1</sup>."

(1681.) Parliament, which had not met for several years, was convened in the month of July, under the auspices of the Duke of York, who was sent down to Scotland to preside at the deliberation of the States. He had no difficulty in obtaining an Act,

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. ii. p. 294. Sir George Mackenzie, who was Lord Advocate during this reign, after remarking that several proclamations for *disowning the King's authority, and murdering his servants*, were posted upon all church doors and market-crosses, observes, "that no man who served the King could know whether his murderer was at his elbow, and that they had reason to look upon every place as their scaffold." He adds, that as many royalists were actually killed, and, among these, some of the King's Horse Guard, it was "thought necessary to terrify them out of this extravagance." Vol. ii. p. 346.

securing his succession to the throne of that kingdom. To obviate the just suspicions of the nation, however, in regard to the religion of this prince, a test was devised by the legislature to be taken by all persons holding a public trust, in the church, government, or army, on the penalty of losing their goods and rents. It bound them to profess the true Protestant faith, as contained in the Confession of 1567 ; to renounce the National Covenant and Solemn League ; and finally to disclaim the endeavouring any alteration in either Church or State, and to engage for the support and defence of the Crown against all resistance. The Bishops and clergy, however little disposed they might be to embarrass the administration, scrupled to take this test without certain modifications in its language, which, upon the suggestion of the Bishop of Edinburgh, were submitted to the Council and approved by the King. Still, no fewer than eighty clergymen remained dissatisfied with it, as subjecting the Church too much to the caprice of the monarch, and accordingly resigned their livings. Some of them retired into England, where, through the activity of Burnet, the greater part were provided with benefices<sup>1</sup>.

(1684.) The remainder of Charles' reign passed in comparative tranquillity, if we except the commotions excited by the Rye-House plot, and the alarming machinations which were thereby revealed. In Scotland a few punishments were inflicted on persons convicted of being privy to that conspiracy ; and, as

<sup>1</sup> Acts of the third Parliament of Charles II. collected by Murray. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 5.

on the eve of such rebellious projects the Covenanters usually assumed a new energy, the executive were consequently compelled to adopt stronger measures of restraint. They had again abjured Charles Stuart as a merciless tyrant, and openly declared war against all who promoted what they were pleased to denominate his wicked and hellish designs. The deed by which this was accomplished, had the title of the Apologetical Declaration, and was affixed to the doors of the parish churches during the night. In reply to it, a royal proclamation instantly appeared, denouncing the penalty of death on all who should acknowledge the said paper, or who refused to disown it; enjoining every proprietor to produce a list of the people who lived upon his estate; requiring certificates of loyalty from every person who left his wonted residence; and offering a reward for the discovery of those who had in any way been accessory to the seditious publication.

(1685.) On the accession of James, an indemnity was published, which, for the first time, made a proper distinction between the ignorant peasants who were deluded by political demagogues or fanatical declaimers, and that a higher class, who connived at their irregularities, and perhaps incited them to open acts of rebellion. It was found, that among the names of those who figured as sharers in the Rye-House plot, were not a few connected with Scotland, and most of them supporters of the Covenant; the Earl of Terras, Lord Melvil, the lairds of Cesnock, Polwart, Torwoodlie, Westshiels, Earlston, Lenshaw, Gallowshiels, and Philiphaugh, Sir John Cochrane, Commissary Monro, the two preachers, Carstairs and

Ferguson, with many others of less note. It was therefore resolved to strike henceforth at the head, instead of the inferior members, and to punish those who instigated or set the example, rather than their unfortunate dependents, who, it might be supposed, were in most cases compelled to follow.

Only a short time elapsed before an opportunity occurred of acting on the principles now stated. The Earl of Argyle, who had also been implicated in the Rye-House plot, set sail from Holland with a small force, relying upon the junction of a powerful armament at home. Having debarked on the shore of his native county, he advanced into the interior as far as Dumbarton, where his troops were dispersed, and himself taken prisoner. He soon afterwards suffered death, leaving behind him an ambiguous reputation in respect to political honesty, and a very indifferent fame as a soldier or man of courage. A few lives, besides that of the leader, atoned for this premature attempt on the crown of James the Second; the administration being unwilling to cloud with sorrow the easy triumph they had gained over a chief who, though he had shown the inclination to disturb their proceedings, possessed not the talent to effect his object. His landing, however, occasioned much suffering and inconvenience to a class of persons who otherwise might have experienced the lenity which the King had resolved to exercise towards the nonconformists. About two hundred presbyterians, who would not give a promise to abstain from offensive arms, were sent to a strong-hold at a distance from the scene of contention, where, without the knowledge of the Council, they endured much from

bad air and scanty food. When the danger of a more formidable invasion had passed away, they were released from that prison, and such of them as would take the oaths to government were set at liberty.

(1686.) From this period the desire entertained by his Majesty to procure relief for his Roman Catholic subjects, led to a suspension of the measures which, on the enterprise of Argyle, had been adopted against the Covenanters. Eager to annul the test as applicable to this order of professors, and to repeal the penal laws which still hung over their heads, he used all the influence attached to his high rank to induce or even to intimidate Parliament, to concur in his views. But the members, confirmed in their Protestant feelings by the resolute demeanour of the English legislature, would not consent to alter the statutes of which the Sovereign complained. The determined opposition of nearly all the Bishops, gave him great offence ; and giving way to his resentment, he deprived several of them of their sees, in order to make way for others whom he hoped to find more complying<sup>1</sup>.

(1687.) Defeated in this attempt to realise his project through the legal proceedings of Parliament, the King unwisely resolved to have recourse to his prerogative. Accordingly, on the 12th February, he issued a proclamation, dispensing, by virtue of his absolute power, with all tests and penal laws what-

<sup>1</sup> The most active opponents of the Bill were, Bruce, Bishop of Dunkeld ; Aitkins, Bishop of Galloway ; Ramsay, of Ross ; and Cairncross, Archbishop of Glasgow ; of whom the first and the last were deprived. *Keith's Catalogue, and Skinner*, vol. ii. pp. 500. 503.

soever, and allowing full liberty of conscience to every denomination of recusants in his ancient kingdom of Scotland. The presbyterians shared in this unwonted freedom, for which some of them, with more ardour than consistency, expressed their gratitude to James in a letter, which is still preserved<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> " To the King's most excellent Majesty, the humble address of the presbyterian ministers in his Majesty's kingdom of Scotland. May it please your Majesty, We your Majesty's most loyal subjects, the ministers of the presbyterian persuasion, in your ancient kingdom of Scotland, from the deep sense we have of your Majesty's gracious and surprising favour, in not only putting a stop to our long sad sufferings for non-conformity, but granting us the liberty of the public and peaceable exercise of our ministerial function without any hazard, as we bless the great God, who hath put this in your royal heart, do withal find ourselves bound in duty to offer our most humble and hearty thanks to your sacred Majesty, the favour bestowed being to us and all the people of our persuasion, valuable above all our earthly comforts; especially since we have ground from your Majesty to believe that our loyalty is not to be questioned on account of our being presbyterians, who, as we have, amidst all former temptations. endeavoured, so are firmly resolved still, to preserve an entire loyalty in our doctrine and practice (consonant to our known principles, which, according to the Holy Scriptures, are contained in the Confession of Faith, generally owned by Presbyterians in all your Majesty's dominions), and by the help of God so to demean ourselves, as your Majesty may find cause rather to enlarge than diminish your favours towards us; thoroughly persuading ourselves, from your Majesty's justice and goodness, that if we shall at any time be otherwise represented, your Majesty will not give credit to such information, until you take due cognizance thereof: and humbly beseeching that those who promote any disloyal principles and practices, as we do disown them, may be looked upon as none of ours, whatever name they may assume to themselves. May it please your most excellent Majesty graciously to accept this our humble address, as

But the descendants of the Remonstrators, in the western districts, refused to accept the toleration thus gratuitously presented to them ; declaring that the sole design of it was to introduce popery ; expressing their abhorrence of that absolute power by which the monarch took upon himself to dispense with the fundamental laws of the kingdom ; and condemning, in the strongest terms, their less honest or less courageous brethren, who had consented to enjoy its privileges. This conduct on the part of the Cameronians was not only in perfect harmony with their principles, but much more defensible than their stiffness on some former occasions.

Had not the political events which soon afterwards took place, put an end to the schism among the presbyterians, the toleration granted by King James, not less than the indulgence proclaimed by his brother, would have revived the enmity which so long divided the two leading parties. Those, for example,

proceeding from the plainness and simplicity of loyal and thankful hearts, much engaged by this your royal favour, to continue our fervent prayers to the King of kings for divine illumination and conduct, with all other blessings, spiritual and temporal, ever to attend your royal person and government ; which is the greatest duty can be rendered to your Majesty by your Majesty's most humble, most faithful, and most obedient subjects. At Edinburgh, July 21, 1687." Skinner, vol. ii. p. 506.

This able and very zealous author maintains, that, at the time the Address just quoted was drawn up, the leading men among the presbyterians were already engaged in a correspondence with Holland, whither a number of the malcontents had fled, and where the plan of invasion, which ultimately succeeded, was already formed. It is probable, however, that the great body of the ministers were ignorant of such designs.

who availed themselves of the royal clemency, were exceedingly indignant at the more ardent class, who, continuing to despise it, wandered about the country, and preached in fields or on mountains, wherever their followers could be assembled. To such a degree did the former carry their resentment, that when Renwick, one of the Cameronian ministers, was apprehended, they wrote to Sir John Dalrymple, the King's advocate, "to hang the man, because he was likely to divide their Church."

It is remarkable that his Majesty did not command the Bishops and clergy of Scotland to read his proclamation to their flocks; the measure which first brought him into a serious collision with the hierarchy of the south. After the event now alluded to, aggravated by his treatment of the seven prelates, the nation at large, clearly perceiving his object, withdrew from him their affection and allegiance. The enterprise of the Prince of Orange had accordingly little opposition to encounter in either division of the island; a circumstance which may be partly attributed to the opinion that the invader did not intend to seize the crown, but simply to interpose his mediation in order to preserve the Protestant religion, and to restore the laws and liberties of the kingdom. The accession of William, however, soon gave birth to other incidents, which finally terminated in the overthrow of the Episcopal establishment in the north, the proximate cause and remoter consequences of which will be detailed in the ensuing chapter.

But before entering upon that subject, it may be useful to take a review of the principal occurrences, as affecting ecclesiastical matters, which distinguished



the reigns of the two sons of Charles the First, and which still give the greatest interest to the history of their government. The characteristic then, which usually attaches to their rule in Scotland is, that of intolerance and severity towards the presbyterians; and so general has this impression become among popular writers, that hardly any one ventures to call the fact in question, or to measure the extent to which it is founded in truth. That there was reason to complain of the policy pursued by the Privy Council at Edinburgh, will not be denied by any one who has examined into their proceedings, taken in connection with the ambiguous motives whence these too frequently sprang. But if the principles upon which they acted be candidly compared with those which prevailed every where around them, and more especially with the maxims, in regard to religious toleration, avowed by the priests and legislators of the former age, it will be found that they were less hostile to liberty of conscience, than others whose reputation is still fondly cherished by the multitude.

It has already appeared that the change of opinion as to the tenets and practices of the Romish Church, was not accompanied with any improvement in the more important concerns of brotherly love and christian forbearance. On the contrary, the intolerance of the Reformers kept full pace with their progress in undermining the foundations of the old establishment; and in receding from the Popish communion, they carried with them the worst feelings with which that large body of Christians has been usually charged. As soon as they themselves were freed from the dread of persecution, they proceeded to advance the inter-

ests of their cause by means of pains and penalties. The sentiments of Knox on this subject are known to every reader; whilst the inhuman counsels and remonstrances which he founded upon his intolerant dogmas, are scattered throughout every page of his works. A favourite text with him, and indeed with all the immediate disciples of Calvin, was that injunction mentioned in the thirteenth chapter of Deuteronomy, against participating in the idolatry of the Gentile nations. "If thy brother, the son of thy mother, or thy son or thy daughter, or the wife of thy bosom, or thy friend which is as thine own soul, entice thee secretly, thou shalt not consent unto him, nor hearken unto him, neither shall thine eye pity him, neither shalt thou spare him, neither shalt thou conceal him, but thou shalt surely kill him; thine hand shall be first upon him to put him to death." Having reasoned his hearers into the belief that idolatry and popery were the same crime, the rigid Reformer insisted upon applying to the latter all the terrors of the Mosaical statute; maintaining, that such as only solicited to the Romish worship, "ought to be punished with death, without favour or respect of persons." "To the same law, I say, and covenant, are the Gentiles no less bound than were the Jews, whensoever God doth illuminate the eyes of any multitude or people, and putteth the sword in their hand to remove such enormities from amongst them, as before God they know to be abominable."

Nor did intolerance and bigotry pass away with the generation who listened to Knox. In the reign of Charles the First, and more especially in the time

of the Commonwealth, the spirit of persecution glowed in the breasts of the leading presbyterians, both in England and Scotland, to such a degree, that they pertinaciously refused toleration to every other class of Christians. It has, indeed, been frequently remarked, that the worst feature of presbytery in those days, and that which ultimately ruined the body in the south, was its intolerance, or determined and relentless hostility to liberty of conscience. Their most celebrated divines, such as Calamy and Burgess, in their discourses before Parliament, represented toleration as the hydra of schism and heresies, and the floodgate to all manner of iniquity; which, therefore, the civil authorities ought to exert all their energies to put down. Their most distinguished authors, too, advocated the duty of persecution, and endeavoured to reason or rail down religious liberty. With this view, chiefly, Edwards produced his "Gangrena," and his "Casting down of the last and strongest hold of Satan, or a Treatise against Toleration." Principal Baillie, it is well-known, throughout his "Dissuasive," represents all freedom of choice in religion as a "monstrous imagination," not to be endured. Samuel Rutherford, again, wrote a quarto volume of four hundred pages against "Pretended Liberty of Conscience." In his eyes it was the Trojan horse, whose bowels were full of warlike sectaries and weapons of destruction. Like the fabled box of Pandora, it had only to be opened to let loose upon the world all the ills which ever afflicted our race. It was, moreover, the Diana, before whose shrine the motley groups of dissenters from presbytery were seen making their devoutest prostrations. Edwards, just men-

tioned, is still more particular. "A toleration is the grand design of the devil; his master-piece and chief engine he works by at this time, to uphold his tottering kingdom. It is the most compendious, ready, sure way to destroy all religion, lay all waste, and bring in all evil. It is the most transcendent, catholic, and fundamental evil for this kingdom of any that can be imagined. As original sin is the most fundamental sin, having the seed and spawn of all in it, so a toleration hath all errors in it, and all evils. It is against the whole stream and current of scripture, both in the Old and New Testament; both in matters of faith and manners; both general and particular commands. It overthrows all relations, political, ecclesiastical, and economical. And whereas other evils, whether of judgment or practice, be but against some one or two places of scripture, or revelation; this is against all: this is the Abaddon, Apollyon, the destroyer of all religion, the abomination of desolation and astonishment; the liberty of perdition; and therefore the devil follows it day and night, working mightily in many by writing books for it, and other ways;—all the devils in hell and their instruments being at work to promote toleration<sup>1</sup>."

Neale, too, in his history of the Puritans, observes, that if the presbyterians would have consented to

<sup>1</sup> Gangrena, p. 58, second section of part first. He remarks that the "Devil, for some thousands of years, had not found out this engine, nor made use of it to support his kingdom." After much unseemly railing, he promises other particulars, "which," says he, "I shall set down in a Tractate against Toleration, which I intend speedily to set forth," p. 60.

accommodate matters on the "footing of a limited toleration, they might have saved the constitution and made their own terms with the King: but they were enchanted with the beauties of *Covenant uniformity*, and the divine right of presbytery, which, after all, the Parliament would not admit in its full extent." The ministers therefore recommended, on the basis of the *Jus Divinum*, that a "compulsive co-active, punitive, corrective power," should be given to the civil magistrate. Nothing, indeed, appeared more alarming to the zealous divines, who at one period upheld the interests of presbyterianism, than a legal toleration. It was equivalent to "putting a sword into a madman's hand, a cup of poison into the hands of a child, or to the letting loose of madmen with firebrands in their hands, and to the appointing a city of refuge in men's consciences for the devil to fly to: it was the laying a stumbling-block before the blind, or proclaiming liberty to the wolves to come into Christ's fold to prey upon the lambs; it was not to provide for tender consciences, but to take away conscience altogether<sup>1</sup>."

The Scots, who during the civil war had no small influence in the Assembly of Divines, were decidedly opposed to all moderate measures, and to the allowing of any religion but their own. In the larger catechism, compiled at Westminster, and approved by the General Assembly of the Kirk, the "tolerating a false religion" is ranked among the sins forbidden in the second commandment. All clergymen who refused to submit to the Covenant were expelled from

<sup>1</sup> See Neale, vol. iii. p. 276. Edition 1822.

their charges, and many of them subjected to sequestration and imprisonment; and it was proposed that none disaffected to the presbyterian government should be employed in any place of public trust. An ordinance was at the same time obtained from Parliament, by which it was provided that every minister who should use the Common Prayer in church, *or in his own family*, should forfeit five pounds for the first time, ten pounds for the second, and to suffer a year's imprisonment for the third. Every minister, also, who neglected to follow the plan of worship enjoined in the "Directory," was condemned to pay forty shillings; and for every contempt of it by *writing* or *preaching*, was to pay at the discretion of those before whom he was convicted, any sum not under five pounds, nor above fifty<sup>1</sup>.

But it is unnecessary to mention particulars, for the whole tenor of the Solemn League and Covenant proceeded on the ground that it was the duty of all who signed it, to extirpate popery and prelacy by civil or military force, without respect of persons. Fortunately for the reputation of the presbyterian Church of Scotland, she has never had the power of acting upon the principles which at one time she delighted to profess, and which it is candidly admitted were in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity, breathing an intolerance that sapped the foundation of the most sacred of those rights which it was the object of the Gospel to confer<sup>2</sup>. Never having been the religion of the court, nor of the executive government, she has never had the armoury of pains and

<sup>1</sup> Chandler's History of Persecution, p. 342. <sup>2</sup> Cook, vol. iii. p. 65.

penalties at her command ; on which account her intolerance has seldom proceeded beyond the theory of persecution, and, except in the time of civil war, has been altogether unstained with blood. This single circumstance, not sufficiently weighed, has saved her from much temptation and calumny.

Even at the Restoration, when the advantages of a partial toleration had been some years experienced by the people, the fathers of the Kirk were averse to the policy which would have allowed a free exercise of conscience. It has appeared, that in the bargain, which for their own behoof they proposed to make with the King, they wished not to include such a boon for others ; though it was acknowledged that the generality of the people were already inclined towards a moderate episcopacy. None, it was said, had petitioned for toleration but a few naughty and insignificant men. On no occasion, either, did the presbyterians make any approach towards the other party, with the view of accommodation. The Episcopalians, on their side, relinquished their liturgy and all their peculiar observances, as these were embodied in the Articles of Perth, and conducted their worship after the manner adopted by their antagonists. They even yielded to their prejudices so far as to regulate anew the unimportant matter of robes and vestments. Again, after the ministers had deserted their posts, the government permitted all of them who would promise to live quietly, to return to their duty, giving to those who would accept collation from a bishop, the full revenue of their parishes, and to the rest an annual salary in money, though they refused to acknowledge, to any extent, the episcopal superintend-

ence established by law. The plan, too, proposed by Leighton, sacrificed to their views every thing but the titles belonging to a hierarchy ; conceding to them the entire management of their parochial concerns, and in point of fact the virtual government of the Church.

In regard to the actual sufferings inflicted upon the Covenanters, there is no one who does not deplore the unchristian spirit which dictated the sanguinary statutes which the Scottish Parliament issued from time to time, for the suppression of conventicles, as well as the severity with which they were occasionally enforced by bodies of armed men. The heart sickens at the details preserved by Wodrow and others, of massacre in the fields, and torture in the courts of justice ; and this pain is not a little increased by the reflection that such enormities were perpetrated in the name of religion, and on the persons of ignorant rustics or weak females, who had been taught to use the language of sedition without knowing fully the import of their own words. It is true that every one of them, though condemned to death, might have escaped punishment by uttering the simplest expression of loyalty ; and had their minds not been perverted by subtleties which gave to rebellion the sanction of divine authority, little blood would have been shed either on the scaffold or in the lonely wilds, where the followers of Cameron and Cargill delighted to assemble. But their intractable fanaticism ought to have excited compassion, rather than resentment. Viewed simply as a matter of political expedience, nothing could be more unwise than to compel conformity at the point of the sword, unless, as in some



other countries, the barbarous resolution were entertained to extirpate all who would not comply. It was urged, on the other side, that men who could be made to believe it was a duty to excommunicate their Sovereign, his family, and Council, and to denounce him as a tyrant unworthy of their allegiance, were not likely to submit to any conditions which might have been recommended by reason or justice. But this very view of their character, as it afforded a proof that they were greatly infatuated or misled, ought to have suggested a more lenient course towards the lower class at least, who had the misfortune to be at once the tools of political demagogues, and the victims of a fantastic theology.

In perusing the annals of suffering which disgraced both priests and statesmen during the reigns of the latter Stuarts, the impartial reader must be warned, that the sources whence information on this subject has been usually derived, are not so pure as to merit an entire confidence. Wodrow and Burnet, the principal authorities, have exposed themselves to a just suspicion, as either partial or prejudiced. The former, who undertook to write a Martyrology, the most deceptive of all literary works, confined his research, in a great measure, to the records of judicial punishment, or to the narratives of those upon whom the pains of law had been inflicted. The Bishop of Salisbury, on the other hand, who composed the "History of his own Times," after the Revolution, was, it is obvious, influenced by the desire to justify in the eyes of his royal patrons, the overthrow of the episcopal Church in Scotland, to which they had been induced to consent. With this view he altered his

tone not a little, as well in reference to the character of the prelates, who had directed the affairs of that establishment, as with respect to the conduct and sufferings of the presbyterians. In certain treatises which he published while he lived in his native country, he expressed very different sentiments on both these subjects; proving, that the complaints made by the non-conformists were not always well founded, and also that they lost no opportunity of persecuting their opponents, in person, goods, and reputation.

“ I know,” says he, “ it is thought a piece of noble gallantry among our new-modelled people, to despise the sentiments of the ancient Church, and therefore, whatever I could adduce from them, would avail little for their conviction; otherwise many things could be brought to this purpose from these two great assertors of the unity of the Church against schism and divisions, St. Cyprian and St. Augustin; the latter, especially, who by many large treatises studied the conviction of the Donatists, who maintained their separation from the Church much upon the same grounds which are by your friends asserted.—And let me freely tell you, that when I consider the temper, the untractableness, the peevish complainings, the railings, the high cantings of the Donatists, which are set down by him and others, I am sometimes made to think I am reading things that are now among ourselves, and not what passed twelve ages ago. And, indeed, some late practices make the parallel run more exactly betwixt our modern zealots and the Circumcellions, who were a sect of the Donatists that was acted by a black and a most desperate spirit. For St. Augustin

tells us how they fell on those who adhered to the unity of the Church, beating some with cudgels, putting out the eyes of others, and invading the lives of some, particularly of Maximinus, Bishop of Hagia, whom they left several times for dead. And what instances of this nature these few years have produced, all the nation knows. How many of the ministers (episcopal) have been invaded in their houses, their houses rifled, their goods carried away, themselves cruelly beaten and wounded, and often made to swear to abandon their churches, and that they should not so much as complain of such bad usage to those in authority : their wives also escaped not the fury of those accursed zealots, but were beaten and wounded, some of them being scarce recovered out of their labour in childbirth. Believe me, *these barbarous outrages have been such, that worse could not have been apprehended from heathens.* And if, after these, I should recount the railings, scoffings, and floutings which the conformable ministers meet with to their faces, even on streets and public highways, not to mention the contempt which is poured on them more privately, I should be looked on as a forger of extravagant stories. But it is well I am talking to men who know them as well as myself. From these things I may well assume, that the persecution lies mainly on the Conformists' side, who for their obedience to the laws lye thus open to the fury of their enemies<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> "A Vindication of the Authority, Constitution, and Laws of the Church and State of Scotland, &c. By Gilbert Burnet, Professor of Theologie in Glasgow," pp. 289. 290, printed in 1673.

[This

Burnet alludes to another species of persecution, directed against the Episcopalians, which, though

This work is written in the form of dialogue, and sets forth the arguments of the prelatists and presbyterians in support of their respective models. *Isotimus*, who represents the latter body, declares, that the better sort of Covenanters did not approve of the violence committed by their brethren, and entreats that the "guilt of some murdering rogues might not be laid upon those who would gladly see justice done on such villains." *Philarcheus*, the Episcopalian, replies, "I am glad to hear you condemning these crimes so directly—but let me tell you plainly, that the constant concealing of those murderers, whom no search which those in authority have caused make, could discover, though the robbers carried with them often a great deal of furniture and other goods, which must have been conveyed to some adjacent houses, but could never be found out, after so many repeated facts of that nature, forceth upon the most charitable a suspicion which I love not to name. Next let me tell you that these things are very justifiable from the principles your friends go upon. What may not be expected of this nature from him who hesitates to call the invading of the Bishop (Archbishop Sharp) with a pistol an accursed act, and will only condemn it as *rash, precipitant, and of evil example*. And from this let me take the freedom to tell you, that the whole *mystery of Jesuitism* doth not discover a principle more destructive of the peace and order of mankind than this doctrine of the lawfulness of private persons executing vengeance on gross offenders, where the transgression is judged signal, the magistrate is judged remiss, and the actors pretend a heroic excitation."

In the preface, Bishop Burnet observes, "By what is near the end of the third 'Conference,' it will appear, that it was written before the discovery of those who had robbed and wounded the (episcopal) ministers in the west of Scotland. I let what is there said continue as it was written before the discovery, but shall add somewhat here. In September last, after a new robbery had been committed on another conformable minister, whose actors no search could discover, some few days had not passed over, when, by a strange providence, one of them was caught,

sufficiently ancient, seems to have acquired a renewed activity during the progress of religious dispute, as arising from the labours of Luther and Calvin. "Is there not a generation among us who highly value themselves, and all of their own form; but whoso differs from them is sure of their fiercest spite and bitterest censures? Are the lives of such as differ from them virtuous, then they say they are good moral men, but, alas! they know not what it is to be spiritual. Again, are they devout and grave, then they are called monastic people, jugglers, and papists. And if nothing can be fastened on them, the charge of hypocrisy is the last shift of malice. Or if they have been guilty of any failings and mistakes, they are so far from covering or disguising of them, that, on the contrary, the relating, the aggravating, and the commenting on these, is the main subject of all their discourses. And if they go on a visit, the first civilities are scarce over, when these stories (true or false, all is to one purpose) come to make up their conversation<sup>1</sup>."

on another account, by a brave soldier, and being seized, such indications of his accession to the robbery were found about him, that he, to prevent torture, confessed not only his own guilt, but discovered a great many more: most of them escaped, yet three were taken, and had justice done on them, with him who had been their chief leader, and who continued to cant it out highly, after he got his sentence, talking of his blood as innocently shed, and railing against the prelates and curates, though, before sentence, he was basely sordid as any could be. One of his complices, who died with more sense, acknowledged, when he spake his last words, that bitter zeal had prompted him to that villany, and not covetousness, nor a design of robbing their goods."

<sup>1</sup> Preface. There is nothing in the history of the Reformed Church more unaccountable and humiliating, than the bitter

For the reasons already suggested, the Bishop did not, in his "Own Times," deem it expedient to describe the sufferings endured by the episcopal clergy, even when established. He remarks, indeed, "that whenever the presbyterians observed a softening in the execution of the law, they grew very insolent, and used the episcopal clergy very ill; and that many of the latter, despairing of all protection from government, deserted their cures, and took refuge in Ireland<sup>1</sup>."

In those evil days, it must be owned, religion presented to all men who took any interest in its concerns, the duty either of suffering persecution, or of inflicting it upon others. It will be found, accordingly, that the victims and the executioners were constantly changing places; and that he who was on the rack to-day, hoped to preside over its tortures to-morrow. No one, for example, suffered more acutely

spirit of calumny, reproach, and slander, which breathed from the hearts of contending divines. The railing and invective, of which the Bishops were made the object, have been already mentioned; a habit of speaking which Knox and some of his followers appear to have learned from their great master, Calvin. This distinguished polemic, in his controversy with Castellio, calls him, "Blasphemer, reviler, malicious barking dog, full of ignorance, bestiality, and impudence; impostor, a base corrupter of the sacred scriptures, a mocker of God, a contemner of all religion, an impudent fellow, a filthy dog, an impious, lewd, crooked-minded vagabond, and a beggarly rogue!" Chandler, p. 289.

Now, does not all the world know that Castellio was not inferior to Calvin himself in learning and piety, and was chargeable with no crime but that of differing with the other on predestination, election, and free-will?

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, vol. i. p. 429.

than the older Leighton, and yet no one breathed slaughter more vehemently than he, or pressed upon government so earnestly the stern obligation of punishing churchmen for adherence to their faith and worship. He not only exhorted Parliament "to smite all the Bishops under the fifth rib;" but when an accident occurred to a Romish priest and his auditory, in an old house at Blackfriars, he could see nothing in the death of so many individuals besides a triumph over an obnoxious faith, and a warning to enforce the penal laws with greater severity. "This event," he said, "pointed out the duty of *ministers*, and *magistrates*, that they should have followed the blow, doing execution with the *word* and the *sword*. It is a great fault in men of place, that they would have God to do all the hard work by himself<sup>1</sup>."

In regard to Scotland, it ought not to be forgotten, that most of the noblemen who, in the name of the King, conducted the government, were avowedly hostile to episcopacy; being jealous of the Bishops, whose power and wealth were regarded by them as possessions unduly withdrawn from the aristocratical orders. The principal measures, accordingly, which respected the Church, and the authority of the sovereign, as its temporal head, were adopted without the concurrence of the spiritual estate. It has been customary, however, among native authors, to ascribe to the prelates all the laws which authorised compul-

<sup>1</sup> An Appeal to Parliament, p. 168. Commentaries on the Life and Reign of Charles the First, vol. iii. p. 317. Leighton condemned the Dutch Commonwealth for allowing a single Roman Catholic to exist in their states.

sion, and all the arguments which justified severity ; while, to an impartial historian, it must soon become evident, that the northern Church, during the reigns of Charles II. and his brother, suffered more than she profited by her connection with the crown.

It has been asserted by an able lawyer, who served under the two monarchs just mentioned, that “no man in Scotland suffered for his religion.” This expression requires, no doubt, to be considerably modified ; and yet it appears certain, that the non-conformity which disturbed the country at that period, had no reference whatever to doctrines or modes of worship, but applied solely to the abstract question of Church government, a matter into which the peasantry of the West, if left to themselves, would not have entered very deeply. At the last, indeed, their dissatisfaction arose from a violent exercise of patronage, rather than from any assault upon their belief or their usages ; for it is manifest that the greatest evils with which the royal council had to contend, originated in the simultaneous resignation of more than two hundred ministers, who would not accept either presentation or induction<sup>1</sup>.

The more carefully the historical monuments of that unhappy period shall be examined, the more evident will it become, that, with the leaders of the insurrection, both at Pentland Hills and Bothwell Bridge, religion was only the pretext wherewith they chose to cover designs which pointed to the most important political objects. The attentive reader will soon perceive, that he is not perusing the history

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Mackenzie's Works, vol. ii. p. 341, &c.



of saints and martyrs on the one side, and heathen persecutors on the other, but that of two fierce contending factions in a half-civilized country, who alternately tyrannized over each other's persons and consciences—one in the abused names of Gospel freedom and civil liberty ; the other under the no less misplaced watchword of loyalty and social order.

Cruelty and oppression, in all nations, have preceded the birth of regulated and constitutional privileges, viewed as the inheritance of the people ; and, in most cases, the advocates of freedom have acted in a manner so extremely arbitrary, that men, disgusted with its pretensions and intolerant spirit, have sometimes sought an asylum in their ancient thralldom. No where was liberty less respected, than by the barons who extorted the Great Charter from King John. The puritans, too, struggled for it, animated by the most tyrannical feelings, and cherishing the most vindictive purposes ; while the Covenanters in the north fought and prayed for the breaking of their chains, in order that they might rivet them more firmly on the necks of their opponents. At the same era we observe superstitions opposed in the very spirit of superstition, and compulsion resisted with all the rage of despotism. The passions of the multitude are excited, and made the instrument of achieving results to which their sagacity can not stretch forward ; and it is long before they discover that they are only engaging in the quarrels of the few in which they have no immediate concern, and that the secret interests of their chiefs are often entirely distinct from the cause which they have openly avowed.

Such writers as ascribe to religious motives only the troubles which embroiled Scotland, from the accession of James to the abdication of his grandson, find themselves perplexed by witnessing events which seemed to proceed from no adequate cause, and are led to condemn measures of which they do not fully comprehend the purpose. A civil war is seen spreading its worst evils over a large portion of the kingdom, apparently for no other end than to determine the Divine right of a particular form of Church government ; and hence arises the most bitter railing against his Majesty's lieutenant for allowing fines and military execution to be inflicted upon those who were guilty of no greater offence than that of holding the weaker side of an argument, and refusing to yield. But the men at the head of affairs had received information that the leaders of the resolute band who appeared in arms at Rullion Green, were in correspondence with a foreign enemy, and had actually entered into conditions for putting the principal fortresses of the nation into their hands. The Bishops are condemned for instigating persecution, while the Lords of the Council were only directing the pains of martial law against traitors and rebels. The religious non-conformity, in short, was regarded by Lauderdale and his assessors in no other light than as a proof or mark of political disaffection ; and they punished the poor Covenanter, not as an enemy to Bishops, but as an undutiful subject to the King. Still episcopacy has been made to bear all the burden of reproach ; and the cruelties perpetrated by a presbyterian viceroy—a man who loved neither the Church nor its rulers—are attributed by the po-

pular judgment in Scotland to the malignant spirit of the prelates.

Nor have the charges against the reputation of these dignitaries been confined to the severity of the measures which are supposed to have been adopted for the support of their interests; they have also been accused of sycophancy, and with an entire want of patriotism, because, when the intention of invading the country, entertained by the Prince of Orange, was made known, they addressed a letter to James, assuring him of their loyalty and attachment, and praying that Heaven would protect him against the designs of his enemies. A little reflection will satisfy those who are not unwilling to learn, that the doctrine of passive obedience and indefeasible right, had still a prominent place among the political principles of the age, and were even cherished by an order of ecclesiastics, less disposed, perhaps, than Episcopalians were at the end of the seventeenth century, to support an hereditary throne. For instance, the presbyterian Synod of Fife, not the most remarkable in point of gentleness or humility, addressed Charles the Second, as “their sovereign, inferior to none but God, who is his only judge, invested by God with a *peerless supremacy over all persons and ranks* within his dominion, the chief nursing-father of the Church, and keeper of both the tables of God’s law; the sovereign protector and defender of the worship and ordinances of God; God’s vicegerent, sent by him to bear the sword with imperial power; the supreme civil governor over all persons, *in all causes, civil and ecclesiastical*. Who, if in any thing to be enjoined we cannot give active obedience, we

hope, will be pacified by our passive obedience, which we resolve to yield as our God calleth us, rather than to sin against him<sup>1</sup>."

Nor was such fulsome language confined to the ministers, who, in the expectation of having their own polity established and intolerance confirmed by law, might be inclined to invest the Crown with attributes which seem barely consistent with ecclesiastical independence. The following paragraph from an address to James the Second, by the presbyterian inhabitants of Edinburgh, will show that such sentiments were not confined to the priesthood of either communion. "Could we open our hearts, your Majesty would undoubtedly see with what deep sense and true zeal for your service, so surprising and signal a favour has imprinted on our spirits: for which we reckon ourselves highly obliged (throwing ourselves at your Majesty's feet) to return your most excellent Majesty our most humble, dutiful, and hearty thanks. And we desire humbly to assure your Majesty, that as the principles of the Protestant religion, which, according to our Confession of Faith we profess, obligeth us, *all the days of our lives*, to that entire loyalty and duty to your Majesty's person and government, that *no difference of religion can dissolve*; so we hope, and through God's assistance shall still endeavour, to demean ourselves in our practice, in such manner as shall evidence to the world the truth and sincerity of our loyalty and gratitude, and make

<sup>1</sup> "Seasonable Word of Exhortation and Admonition against Episcopacy, April 1661," quoted by Mr. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 491. See also Cook, vol. iii. p. 435. Wodrow, vol. iii. p. 469, note.

it appear that there is no inconsistency betwixt true loyalty and independent principles<sup>1</sup>."

From these statements it is abundantly manifest, that, so far as professions of duty and declarations of attachment had any weight, there was nothing wanting among the Scottish subjects of King James ; but new prospects soon opened to their views, to which their principles accommodated themselves with a wonderful facility. The "surprising and signal favour" here alluded to, is the Indulgence, the object of which was "to introduce popery, and ruin the Protestants among themselves." If the Bishops were not sufficiently enlightened as patriots, they were at least honest and consistent as divines ; for, when circumstances changed, they acted upon the principles which they had previously professed.

<sup>1</sup> " Address of the Inhabitants of Edinburgh and the Canon-gate, of the Presbyterian Persuasion, to King James the Seventh," dated 21st July, 1687.

## CHAPTER XV.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE REPEAL OF THE  
PENAL LAWS, IN 1792.

*The connexion between religious dissent and political animosity—Exemplified in France, Holland, and England—Richelieu supports the Scottish Covenanters—Miserable condition of Scotland—King William favourable to the continuance of Episcopacy in that country—Reasons for his preference—Difficulties thrown in the way of the Scottish Bishops—Letter from Bishop Rose—He obtains an audience of the King—Statement by the Duke of Hamilton—The Bishops defended—Their sentiments shared for a time by the English prelates, and even the Presbyterians—Letter of Bishop Ken—Remark of Principal Carstares—William determines in favour of Presbyterianism—Episcopal ministers attacked and turned out by the Covenanters in the western shires—Examples of the violence inflicted upon them—Clergy of Edinburgh protected by the College of Justice—The Government interposes in their behalf—Tumult at Glasgow—Convention of Estates—Prelacy declared an insupportable grievance—Letter from King William to the General Assembly—Presbyterianism invested with the authority of law—Episcopalians claim a majority of the people—Universities decidedly episcopal—Reasons why the minority prevailed—Clergy commanded to pray for King William and Queen Mary—Notice given for this purpose insufficient—Neglect of this injunction punished—Many of the clergy ejected—Government of the Kirk placed in the hands of the most violent ministers—Observations by the Duke of Hamilton—Visitors appointed to try scandalous and insufficient clergy—Severities inflicted—*

*Leave refused to use the English Liturgy—Many Clergymen retain their Churches—Oath of Assurance—Presbyterian ministers refuse to take it—Resolute conduct of Carstares—Oath of Assurance pressed on Episcopalians who become non-jurors—The clergy continue to perform religious offices in private—They are discharged from baptising children, under pain of imprisonment—Civil government interpose without success—Anomalous state of the Scottish Church, partly presbyterian and partly episcopal—The overthrow of the Church in 1638 and 1688, effected in opposition to the wishes of the clergy and majority of the people—Harmony of the new Establishment impaired by mixture of Cameronians—The temporary use of the latter body—Character of Kennedy the Moderator—Covenant neglected by General Assembly—Oath of Abjuration—Death of King William, and accession of Queen Anne—Hopes of Episcopalians—Their address to the Queen—Toleration to them refused by Parliament—Case of Mr. Greenshields—Act of Toleration passed by the British Parliament—Benefits of the Act—Accession of George the First—Insurrections in England and Scotland—Restrictions on Episcopalians—Prosperity and practical Tolerance—Rebellion of 1745—Severe Statutes—Patient endurance of Episcopalians—Consecration of Bishop for America—Repeal of the Penal Laws—Present state of the Scottish Episcopal Communion.*

To him who reads with attention the history of Europe, during the seventeenth century, it will appear manifest that dissent from the established faith was usually understood to imply aversion and even hostility to the civil government; a circumstance which may, perhaps, suggest a reason, if not an apology, for much of the severity which was at that period exercised by protestants as well as by catholics, against non-conformists. Proceeding on this ground, the several nations, when at war, tried to weaken their enemies by giving encouragement to religious disaffection in their respective dominions.

The Huguenots, for instance, were formidable to France, not on account of their numbers, but because they afforded a pretext for the interference of England, and even threw open the kingdom to her fleets and armies. The protestantism of Holland, again, had supplied a medium for assailing the power of Spain, and even of the Germanic empire, inviting against Charles all the States which feared his greatness or envied his elevation. The wily Richelieu, who regarded the prosperity of the Dutch as a reproach to his own politics, or as laying the foundations of an influence which he might afterwards find it difficult to oppose, offered to the son of James the First a share in their spoil, if he would consent to co-operate, with men and ships, in the meditated conquest of the United Provinces. But the British Sovereign, so far from giving countenance to a design so base, declared that his forces should rather be employed by sea and land to protect those allies of his good people; upon which, the French minister, to gratify his resentment not less than to accomplish his object by other means, sent money and arms to the Scottish Covenanters. Nor was this a solitary example of the policy which was at that time pursued, and which everywhere had the effect of identifying religious discontent with actual rebellion. The reformation was originally accomplished in the north, by the assistance of English treasure and even of English troops, under the direction of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Elizabeth; and the progress of puritanism at a later period, was in no slight degree facilitated by similar aids, obtained from the rulers of Sweden, Holland, and France.



From a state of things so little favourable to toleration and inquiry, arose that bitter persecution, which, prior to the opening of the eighteenth century, threw a stain on all the cabinets of Europe. In all the evils moreover, incident to an unsettled government, Scotland had a large share. The distracted condition of the country during the grand rebellion, the habits of war and pillage to which many of the people were inured, the want of employment, and the secret arts which operated on their fears and prejudices, may perhaps be regarded as the probable causes of that seditious humour which was constantly breaking forth among the inhabitants of the south-western counties. At all events, it cannot be denied that a large body of the people had become at once factious and miserable in a very high degree. A political writer of the period calculated that there were no fewer than two hundred thousand sturdy beggars threatening the property and disturbing the peace of the kingdom; and recommended that this pressing calamity should be alleviated by the general adoption of domestic slavery. Such persons were ready to take part in every tumult, and to supply the means of intimidating the most powerful government<sup>1</sup>.

It is well known that the abdication of James and the accession of his son-in-law to the throne, introduced a new order of things in the spiritual concerns of Scotland. There is no doubt, however, that the inclinations of William were in favour of Episcopacy. Holding the most liberal opinions in regard to toleration, and wishing that all should be per-

<sup>1</sup> See Fletcher of Saltoun's Works, p. 176.

mitted to worship God according to the light of their consciences, he, nevertheless, thought it desirable that the same form of church-government should be established through the whole of Britain; and had the Bishops and clergy of the north acknowledged him for their sovereign, he would, there is reason to believe, have exerted himself for the continuance of the hierarchy, while it is more than probable, that he would have accomplished his object<sup>1</sup>.

In the measures contemplated by the Prince in respect to the Church of Scotland, it is not indeed to be imagined that he was in any great degree influenced by theological principle, or that he preferred the one species of ecclesiastical polity to the other, on any ground beside that of his political interests. But it is on this very ground that he had the strongest motives for deciding in behalf of prelacy, could he have induced the Bishops, or even a majority of them, to transfer to him and his queen the allegiance which they had sworn to King James; because the Presbyterians had already so completely committed themselves with regard to the abdicated monarch, that William could be under no apprehension that they would ever conspire to replace him on the throne. Could he therefore have gained the other party, his cause would have instantly assumed a firmer basis, perhaps, than it enjoyed at the same period either in England or Ireland.

(1688.) When the Prince of Orange had effected a landing, the Scottish prelates sent two of their number to London, with instructions to make a renewal

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. iii. p. 440.

of their duty to the King, and to solicit the advice and assistance of their brethren on the English bench. As William was recognised as Sovereign before the northern Bishops could arrive in the capital, a serious obstacle was thereby created to all negotiation, because they were not prepared to treat with him in the capacity of supreme ruler. Dr. Rose, of Edinburgh, one of the two deputies just mentioned, has left a record of his transactions at court, which points out in very distinct terms the principles by which the government was actuated. "The Bishop (Compton), directing his discourse to me, said, 'My Lord, you see that the King, having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself a-swimming with one hand: the Presbyterians have joined him closely and offer to support him; and therefore he cannot cast them off, unless he could see otherwise how he can be served. And the King bids me tell you, that he now knows the state of Scotland much better than he did when he was in Holland; for while there he was made believe that Scotland generally all over was Presbyterian, but now he sees that the great body of the nobility and gentry are for episcopacy, and it is the trading and inferior sort that are for presbytery. Wherefore he bids me tell you, that if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians.' My answer to this was, 'My Lord, I cannot but humbly thank the Prince for this frankness and offer; but withal, I must tell your Lordship, that when I came from Scotland, neither my brethren nor I apprehended

any such revolution as I have now seen in England, and neither I nor they was nor could be instructed by them what answer to make to the Prince's offer. And, therefore, what I say, is not in their name, but only my private opinion, which is, that I truly think they will not serve the Prince so as he is served in England; that is, (as I take it,) to make him their King, or to give their suffrage for his being King. And though, as to this matter, I can say nothing in their name and as from them, yet for myself I must say that, rather than do so, I will abandon all the interest that either I have or may expect to have in Britain.' Upon this, the Bishop recommended my openness and ingenuity, and said, he believed it was so; 'for,' says he, 'all this time you have been here, neither have you waited upon the King, nor have any of your brethren the Scots Bishops made any address to him. So the King must be excused for standing by the Presbyterians.'"

Before the bishop of Edinburgh left London, he obtained a brief audience of the new monarch, respecting which he relates the following particulars. "Upon my being admitted to the Prince's presence, he came three or four steps forward from his company, and prevented me by saying, 'My Lord, are you going for Scotland?' My reply was, 'Yes, Sir, if you have any commands for me.' Then he said, 'I hope you will be kind to me and follow the example of England.' Wherefore, being somewhat diffculted how to make a mannerly and discreet answer without entangling myself, I readily replied, 'Sir, I will serve you as far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me.' How this answer pleased I cannot well

tell ; but it seems the limitations and conditions of it were not acceptable, for instantly the Prince, without saying anything more, turned away from me and went back to his company. Considering what had passed the day before, I was much surprised to find the Prince accost me in these terms ; but I presume, that either the Bishop, not having time, had not acquainted him with what had passed, or that the Prince purposed to try what might be made of me, by the honour he did me of that immediate demand. And as that was the first, so it was the last time I had the honour to speak with his Highness, when the things I now write were not only upon the matter, but in the self-same individual words that I have set them down <sup>1</sup>."

Bishop Rose has no doubt that King William was sincere in his proposal to protect the Episcopal Church and abandon the Presbyterians. "I am the more confirmed in this," says he, "that after my down-

<sup>1</sup> The narrative of Bishop Rose is confirmed by the following notice made by Burnet, in the History of his Own Times. "Soon after the King came to St. James's, the episcopal party there (Scotland,) had sent up the Dean of Glasgow, whom they ordered to come to me ; and I then introduced him to the Prince. He was sent to know what his intentions were with relation to them. He answered, he would do all he could to preserve them, granting a full toleration to the Presbyterians ; but this was in case they concurred in the new settlement of that kingdom ; for if they opposed that, and if by a great majority in parliament, resolutions should be taken against them, the King could not make war for them, but yet he would do all in his power to maintain such of them as should live peaceably in their functions. This he ordered me likewise to write back, in answer to what some Bishops and others had writ to me upon that subject." vol. iv. p. 40.

coming here, my Lord St. Andrews and I taking occasion to wait upon Duke Hamilton, his Grace told us a day or two before the sitting down of the Convention, that he had it in special charge from King William, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of episcopacy in Scotland, in case the Bishops could by any means be brought to befriend his interest, and prayed us most pathetically, for our own sake, to follow the example of the Church of England. To which my Lord St. Andrews replied, that both by natural allegiance, the laws, and the most solemn oaths, we were engaged in the King's interest, and that we were by God's grace to stand by it in the face of all dangers and to the greatest losses <sup>1</sup>."

The Scottish Bishops who were deprived at the Revolution, have sometimes been described as narrow-minded and illiberal persons, who sacrificed their Church to groundless or contemptible scruples. But before this charge be admitted, all the circumstances of the case ought to be taken into consideration. The Archbishop of St. Andrew's, in his reply to the Duke of Hamilton, alludes to "the most solemn oaths" by which he and his brethren felt themselves bound to support the rights of the abdicated monarch. And it is well known that the form of words whereby allegiance was conveyed in those days, was very different from the one used in our times. The present oath only requires that we promise and swear

<sup>1</sup> Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops, 2d edition, p. 65—72. The original holograph letter was in the possession of Bishop Keith, and is inserted at length in the work now quoted.

to be faithful, and bear true allegiance to the King, whoever happens to be on the throne. But before the accession of William and Mary, the obligation was expressed in these terms : “ I do promise to be true and faithful to the King and *his heirs*, and truth and faith to bear of life and limb and terrene honour; and not to know or hear of any ill or damage intended him, without defending him therefrom.” The oath, therefore, that all subjects in office had sworn to King James, bound them to be faithful not to him only, but also to his heirs ; and though the Scottish Convention voted that, by his mal-administration and abuse of power, he had forfeited all title to the crown, the Bishops might without absurdity or narrow-mindedness, consider themselves as still bound by their oaths to be faithful to his infant son, who could have done nothing to forfeit his claims<sup>1</sup>.

Considerations analogous to those now stated, appear to have withheld many Presbyterians as well as the great majority of the episcopal clergy from transferring their allegiance from James to his successor ; and that even the Bishops in England had originally no intention of receiving William as their Sovereign, might be proved from a variety of documents still in existence. In a letter to the Scottish prelates, dated at Whitehall, 15th November, 1688, the infatuated King makes an allusion to the proffered fidelity of their brethren in the south. “ We

<sup>1</sup> The law of England acknowledged in some degree the distinction between *right* and *possession*, and allowed allegiance to a King *de facto* : the law of Scotland, as yet, admitted no such distinction, and permitted no fealty to any but a King *de jure*. — *Life of Carstares*, p. 56.

are glad to see that you are far from being of the number of those spiritual lords whom the Prince of Orange pretends to have been invited by, as we have likewise had repeated assurances from all the Bishops of England, of their innocency in that, and duty to us."

It is not unknown what changes were produced among the greater number of these spiritual peers by the political events which immediately followed; and yet it is worthy of notice that the high-churchmen, as they were usually denominated, who had been the first to oppose the unconstitutional exercise of the royal prerogative, were also the first to set an example of a constant and invincible loyalty. Bishop Ken, one of the most distinguished of the deprived prelates, says, in a letter to Burnet, "Though I do easily in many things betray great infirmity, I thank God I cannot accuse myself of any insincerity; so that deprivation will not reach my conscience, and I am in no pain at all for myself. I perceive that when we have been sufficiently ridiculed, the last mortal stab designed to give us, is to expose us to the world as men of no conscience; and if God is pleased to permit it, his most holy will be done: though, what that particular passion of corrupt nature is which lies at the bottom, and which we gratify by losing all we have, will be hard to determine. I heartily join with your Lordship in your desires for the peace of this Church; and I shall conceive great hopes that God will have compassion on her, if I see that she compassionates and supports her sister of Scotland. I beseech God to make you an instrument to promote that peace and that charity; I myself can only



contribute to both by my deprivation, and my prayers against schism and against sacrilege."

Bishop Burnet was little inclined to listen to this recommendation in favour of the Episcopalians in Scotland. Aware of the course in which events were most likely to flow, he was already indifferent to their interests, and perhaps, making ready his mind to write against those whom he had formerly praised. When Dr. Rose entreated him to use his influence with the Prince, in order to put a stop to the persecutions already inflicted on the clergy, in the disaffected counties, he coolly replied that, "he did not meddle in Scottish affairs <sup>1</sup>."

It is remarkable that Principal Carstares, who appears to have been an accomplice in all the plots which disturbed the reigns of James and Charles, suggested to King William the very obstacle which he afterwards experienced in treating with the episcopal party in the north. He represented to him that they were generally disaffected to the Revolution, and enemies to the principles on which it had been brought to pass; and, moreover, that the chief men amongst them allowed their religious tenets to be completely warped by the political doctrines of regal supremacy, passive obedience, and non-resistance, and could not, therefore, co-operate heartily with him in the main objects of his government. It was not, however, until his Majesty found the efforts unavailable, by which he had hoped to gain the northern prelates, that he consented to make trial of presbytery; his objections to which, viewed as the

<sup>1</sup> Keith's Catalogue, p. 67.

source of contention and rebellion, it required no small management to overcome<sup>1</sup>.

But the lower class of people in the western counties did not wait for the decision of the supreme authority, in matters ecclesiastical. As soon as the Prince's landing was ascertained, they formed themselves into armed bands, attacked the established ministers, drove them from their houses, plundered their property, and expelled them from their parishes with great violence, and the most furious menaces. The necessity of opposing the invading army compelled James to withdraw his troops from Scotland, and to leave the Covenanters to the exercise of their discretion, in avenging the injuries which they had suffered as non-conformists. Yielding themselves to the obligation imposed by the Solemn League and Covenant, to extirpate prelacy and bring all malignants to condign punishment, they performed a crusade through a large portion of the country, in the course of which, they succeeded in banishing from their cures no fewer than two hundred clergymen. This extrusion was accomplished with every circumstance of contumely and rudeness. They were wont to drag each unpopular divine to the church-yard, or to some public place in the village, and there expose him to the people as a condemned

<sup>1</sup> Dr. M'Cormick, who wrote the Life of Carstares, remarks, "How far the arguments which Mr. Carstares made use of in favour of the establishment of presbytery in Scotland, weighed with King William, we cannot pretend to say; but it is certain that it required all the influence which the friends of that form of Church-government could exert, to prevail with him." pp. 42, 43.

malefactor ; commanding him under pain of death, not to preach again in that parish, but to remove instantly with his household to some other quarter. The scene was usually concluded by tearing his gown over his head, which they rent into a hundred pieces, and sometimes by burning the Prayer-book, if found either in his church or family. On Christmas-day, 1688, a troop of ninety armed men, consisting, chiefly, of the Cameronians, or Hillmen, as they were not unfrequently called, committed extensive ravages in the shire of Ayr. The first minister of the town just named, received a written paper, commanding him and all his brethren to leave their ministry before the fifteenth of the ensuing January, under pain of death ; and “because he did not regard this, there came to his house on the fifteenth, about eight o’clock at night, eleven armed men of them, who commanded him, under pain of death, to preach no more in the Church of Ayr, till the Prince’s farther order. And at the same rate did they treat his colleague that same night <sup>1</sup>.”

The following cases are selected from an Account of the Grievances of the Presbytery of Dumbarton, attested by the heads of that body, and sent to the Prince of Orange. “Upon the 25th December last, a party of the dissenters, about nine o’clock at night, entered violently into the house of Mr. Walter Stirling, minister of Baldernock, threatened most barbarously his wife and servants, (himself being from home,) saying, they would cut off her popish nose,

<sup>1</sup> The Case of the present Afflicted Clergy in Scotland, p. 2. London, 1690.

rip up, &c.; but by a good providence they were hindered by the coming in of some friends." "They having assaulted Mr. William Duncan, minister of Kilpatrick Easter, several times before, did on the 16th January, instant, come to his house about the number of thirty armed men, some whereof were his parishioners, and violently took from him the keys of the Church, struck and abused himself, broke down and overthrew all his furniture, and did cast all out of doors, so that he and his family were forced to go elsewhere, and live upon the charity of friends." "On Sunday last, being the 20th instant, a little before the time the sermon should have begun, about thirty armed men came to the Church of Boiall, threatened the minister who was to preach most barbarously, saying that he should lose his life if he should offer to preach there, or any other sent from the presbytery to supply his place. And on the morrow thereafter, about fourscore armed men, some whereof were his parishioners, came to his house, abused his wife by reviling and beating her, (the minister himself, the night before, for fear of his life, having gone out of the way,) spoiled some of his furniture, and threatened to throw all out of doors, if he and his family would not go away from church and house within eight days."

The indignities inflicted upon Mr. Bell, minister of Kilmarnock, sheds some light upon the vindictive and intolerant spirit by which these fanatical insurgents were actuated. He was taken prisoner by two of that class, one of whom had presented a musket to his head. Being asked on what authority they appeared thus in arms, they replied, "By the rule

and law of the Solemn League and Covenant." Mr. Bell observed, that they would do well to consider whether their proceedings were justified by the word of God, and conformable to the practice of Christ and his Apostles. He was answered that "the doom of all malignants is clearly set down in the word of God; and their appearing thus in arms was conformable to the practice of the ancient Church of Scotland." They then marched him towards the town, upon approaching which, they "commanded him to take off his hat, which he obeyed, yet at the same breath they threatened to throw him into the river." Having seized the keys of the Church, they prohibited him as *curate* of Kilmarnock, from discharging any ministerial duty, or deriving any emolument from his benefice. "From this place they carried him back to his house, and there compelled him to deliver into their hands the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England; after this, they led him as a prisoner bare headed, betwixt four files of musketeers, through a great part of the town unto the market-place, where the whole party was drawn up into battalion; which appeared to be about the number of two hundred, well armed, with firelock musquets of a very large size; most of them had also a pair of pistols, but all of them one." Having placed the minister on the top of the market-cross, and supplied themselves with fire, one of the leaders addressed the people, saying, that, "they were come there to make the curate a spectacle of ignominy, and that they were obliged to do by virtue of the Solemn League and Covenant; in obedience to which, they were to declare here their abhorrence

of prelacy, and to make declaration of their firm intentions and designs to fulfil all the ends of that oath." "After this, another of their commanders taking the Book of Common Prayer, reading the title of it, and extending his voice very high, told the people, that in pursuance of the pre-mentioned League and Covenant, they were now to burn publicly this Book of Common Prayer, which is so full of superstition and idolatry; and then throwing it into the fire, blowing the coals with a pair of bellows, after that, catching it from amidst the flames, they fixed it on the spear of a pike, and thence lifting it up on high far above the top of the cross, which elevation was attended with shouts and acclamations, 'down with prelacy, idolatry, and superstition, of the Churches of England and Scotland.' They next tore the clergyman's gown, one of the guard first cutting off the skirt of it with his sword, and throwing it amongst their feet, telling them 'it was the garment of the whore of Babylon.' One of them bid him promise never to preach, nor exercise the office of a minister any more; but he refused, saying that such a promise lay not within the compass of his own will, and could not be extorted by force, and that, though they should tear his body as they had done his gown, they should never be able to reach his conscience <sup>1</sup>."

In many instances the terror and sufferings were greater than in that now described, especially when directed against helpless females, whose apartments where entered by armed men during the night, in

<sup>1</sup> Case of the present Afflicted Clergy in Scotland, p. 35.

search of the devoted clergy. It has been already stated, that about two hundred incumbents, with their families, were expelled in the course of the winter of 1688, and exposed to all the pains and privations which cold, hunger, and a fanatical multitude could inflict. No Wodrow, however, has yet arisen to record the sorrows and distress which were endured by the ejected ministers in Scotland at the era of the Revolution. Poets and orators do not find the same scope for their powers in describing the ravages of a lawless mob, plundering manses, and driving out their inhabitants, as when they choose for their subject a field conventicle, assembled in a remote glen or desert mountain, and praying for courage to fight, or strength to revenge. The warlike peasant, leaning on his gun, while he listens to his favourite preacher, presents to the imagination a much more picturesque object than the wife and children of a professional man wandering about seeking shelter under the inclemencies of a northern sky, and reduced to the necessity of begging food, and a roof to cover them<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> "The afflicted ministers saw clearly there was nothing left for them but to suffer patiently by the good will of God; which they have done without the least public complaint, waiting with all christian submission for a reparation of their wrongs from the justice of God, and till those in power shall be graciously pleased to commiserate their condition, since they and their poor families are in very hard and pinching circumstances, having been turned out of their livings and properties, in the midst of a hard winter, and suffered not only the spoiling of their goods, but some the loss of their children, and many marks and bruises in their own bodies; and now are in a state of desolation, not knowing where to lay their heads, or to have bread for themselves and their families."—*Case, &c.* p. 8.

These evils, it is true, were confined to the five associated counties, where the Hillmen had concentrated their power, and where, for a time, they were permitted to gratify their prejudices and dislike without any restraint. Indeed, during several months after the arrival of King William, the government of Scotland was entirely dissolved. The Privy Council, who had pledged themselves to the worst measures of James, possessed not sufficient firmness to adopt measures for preserving the peace of the country ; while those who were more friendly to the new order of things, without precisely understanding the views of the Prince, as to ecclesiastical affairs, connived at the outrages perpetrated in the west, upon the established clergy. But in other parts of the kingdom, where the majority of the people were decidedly episcopal, the fury of the Covenanters was either not felt or immediately checked. At Edinburgh, for instance, the College of Justice, including lawyers of all degrees, formed themselves into a regiment for the protection of the Church, and avowed their determination to check the progress of the Cameronians.

No sooner did intelligence of this reaction reach the ears of government than a proclamation was issued, commanding all parties to lay down their arms, as well as their animosities ; and directing that the ministers who had been violently ejected by the insurgent populace, should be replaced in their respective charges, and so continue without molestation, until matters should be finally settled by the Convention of States. It was desired, in short, that all things should be restored to the position in which they were



prior to the month of October, when the expedition set sail from Holland.

On this occasion, as usual, the friends of order complied with the terms of the proclamation, and disbanded their corps. But the Covenanters, on the other hand, equally regardless of the Prince of Orange and of King James, not only continued their armed assemblies, they even proceeded so far as to act in direct opposition to the injunctions of their new rulers, and to set at once their power and authority at defiance. On the first Sunday, after the royal pleasure had been made known, the magistrates of Glasgow desired one of their ministers to preach before them, according to the former practice. The disaffected party were no sooner informed of this arrangement, than they resolved to defeat it. Seizing their arms they "surrounded the Church, when the minister was in the pulpit, fired in upon the best and most respected inhabitants of the place, and at length violently broke open the church-doors, which had been shut upon their approach, and when they had forced their entrance into the cathedral, they beat many, wounded some, and dispersed the whole congregation, without making any distinction of age, sex, or quality<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Case, &c. p. 52. "They fired both upon the people who had fled to the pinnacles and buttresses of the Church, and through the door, where there was a little boy dangerously wounded on the face. After this, they took up the names of the people of the best quality in Church, and then they hurried us out by fives and sixes at the several doors of the cathedral, and so exposed us to the fury of the rabble, which we had escaped if they had permitted us to go out in a body. Others of us they

An account of this proceeding was sent to London, attested by the magistrates, who earnestly craved redress and protection; but as the authority of William, as Governor of the kingdom, terminated with the meeting of the States, he satisfied himself with referring all such complaints to the consideration of that Assembly, which was soon afterwards to convene.

(1689.) On the 14th March, accordingly, this celebrated Convention assembled, consisting of seven prelates, forty-two noblemen, forty-nine barons or gentlemen of landed property, and fifty burgesses. It augured no good for the cause of episcopacy, to find a corps of Cameronians, amounting to between seven and eight hundred, employed by the public authorities, under colour of preserving the peace. These directed by the Earl of Leven, and aided by the mob, besieged all the entrances to the parliament

pretended to conduct by guards, but carried us no farther than into the very middle of the rabble. The whole congregation being thus maliciously dissipated, very few of them did escape without wounds or blows; and particularly the Lord Boyd was rudely treated, and had his sword taken from him. The Laird of Borrowfield and his Lady, together with his two brothers James and William Walkinshawes, were five or six several times beaten to the ground. James Corbett was very dangerously wounded in the head with the stroke of a scythe. George Graham, one of the late bailies of the town, was deeply cut on the head in two places. Dr. Wright and his Lady, and together with them her mother and sisters, and several other women, were very roughly handled and beaten. Mrs. Anna Paterson, daughter to the Archbishop of the place, Mrs. Margaret Fleming, and several other gentlewomen, were cruelly pinched after their clothes were torn off them."

house, insulted the ancient nobility, and threatened the bishops, all of whom soon found it necessary to retire for the safety of their persons<sup>1</sup>. After declaring that King James had forfeited the crown, they proceeded to a consideration of grievances, among which was the following: "that prelacy and the superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been, a great and insupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people, ever since the Reformation, they having reformed from popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished."

(1689.) After William and Mary had accepted the Scottish diadem, they conferred upon the Convention of States the form and authority of a regular parlia-

<sup>1</sup> It is not denied that various expedients were employed to aid the Revolutionary cause in this Convention. Finding that they could not confide in the magistrates and corporations of Boroughs, "Lord Stair, whose views were extensive, had taken care to recommend that the borough elections should be made by a general poll of the burgesses; an artifice which, while it took the blame of innovation off the Prince, prepared the way for securing the election to the Whigs and Presbyterians.—A committee of electors was next named, consisting of nine Whigs and three Tories. Sir John Dalrymple, who was an able lawyer, found it easy to start objections to the returns of the opposite party, and to remove those which were made against his own. The committee in the House followed his opinions, because the necessity of the times was made the excuse of partiality. The Duke of Hamilton, respecting the dignity of his situation in the Convention, refused his countenance to some of these proceedings, but in vain; for he was soon made sensible that he was joined with a party which was resolved not to stand upon ceremony when the public interest was at stake."—*Sir John Dalrymple's Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. p. 284.

ment ; which, accordingly met again on the fifth of June, under the Duke of Hamilton, as High Commissioner. On the 22nd July following, “ our Sovereign Lord and Lady, with advice and consent of the Estates then assembled, abolished prelacy and all superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters ; and they declared that, with the said advice and consent, they would settle by law that church-government which was *most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.*” It cannot be doubted, that the basis on which William placed the new ecclesiastical polity was not agreeable to the great body of presbyterians, who were wont to assert the claim of Divine right, or at least, to trace the model of their constitution to apostolic times. In the original draught, indeed, of the act for the settlement of presbytery in Scotland, they had assumed a higher ground, and maintained that prelacy was rejected at the very commencement of the Reformation. The remarks of his Majesty on this subject, as given below, are not unworthy of attention<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> “ His Majesty’s remarks upon the act for settling church-government in Scotland, which was sent up to him by my Lord Commissioner, along with reasons designed for clearing of it, and in answer to some objections that might be made against it.

“ 1st. Whereas, in the draught it is said that the Church of Scotland was reformed from popery, by presbyters, *without prelacy* ; his Majesty thinks that though this matter of fact may be true, which he doth not controvert ; yet, it being contradicted by some, who speak of a power that superintendents had in the beginning of the Reformation, which was like to that which Bishops had afterwards, it were better it were otherwise expressed.

“ 2d. Whereas, it is said, their Majesties do ratify the Presbyterian church-government to be *the only government of Christ’s*

At the meeting of the General Assembly, in October, 1690, a letter was produced from the King, in which he told them "that he favoured their government because he was made to understand it was agreeable to the inclinations of the people, and that he would have them to be very moderate in their proceedings, and not to do anything that might displease their neighbour-church." In their answer, they stated, that their government was not only agreeable to the inclinations of the people, but likewise founded on the word of God; an assertion which they designed to confirm by the authority of an act, declaring "the presbyterian government to be of divine right, and also the true legal government of this Church, which had never suffered any alteration except in times of usurpation, tyranny, and great oppression." But the Commissioner, Lord Carmichael, aware that such a declaration, sanctioned by the supreme judicatory, would not be agreeable

*Church in this kingdom*; his Majesty desires it may be expressed otherwise, thus: To be the government of the Church in this kingdom established by law.

"3d. Whereas, it is said, that the government is to be exercised by sound Presbyterians, and such as shall hereafter be owned by Presbyterian judicatories, *as such*, his Majesty thinks that the rule is too general, depending as to its particular determination upon particular men's opinions; and, therefore, he desires that what is said to be the *meaning* of the rule, in the reasons which were sent along with the Act, may be expressed in the Act itself, viz. 'That such as subscribe the Confession of Faith and Catechism, and are willing to submit to the government of the Church, being sober in their lives, sound in their doctrine, and qualified with gifts for the ministry, shall be admitted to the government.' "—*Life of Carstairs*, p. 44.

to the Sovereign, refused to let it pass until he had communicated with the Court; and as it did not receive the royal approbation, it was tacitly allowed to fall into oblivion.

(1690.) After the lapse of nearly twelve months, from the period at which episcopacy was abolished, the presbyterian form was invested with the authority of law, by a vote of the Scottish parliament and the assent of the King. As the only reason assigned by his Majesty for this change, respected the wishes of the people, it has been considered as a fair subject of inquiry whether the statement to this effect, on which the government proceeded, was well-founded, or whether it did not in reality apply to a small part of the nation. Assuming that the Indulgence granted by James afforded entire liberty to all who were dissatisfied with the Establishment, to have separate places of worship, certain episcopal authors have maintained that the small number who availed themselves of so rare a privilege, proves that the people at large were not hostile either to their ministers or to the ecclesiastical government under which they were placed. Following up this view they assert that, prior to the Revolution, there were not in the whole country beyond the river Tay, more than three or four presbyterian meeting-houses, but that all the inhabitants, of whatever rank or degree, attended willingly the services of the parochial clergymen. Not less than one half of Scotland lies northwards of the estuary just named, in which it is admitted, even by Presbyterian writers, that the people were generally in favour of the episcopal form. As for other parts of the country, in some shires

there were not above two meeting-houses, in others none at all. In the presbyteries of Haddington and Dunbar, for example, where there are nearly thirty parishes, there were only two Presbyterian ministers; while in those of Dunse and Chirnside containing an equal number of cures, there were not more clergymen who would support the new scheme. In the presbytery of Auchterarder, there was but one not episcopal; and even when the next presbytery was added to it, the number of Presbyterian incumbents did not exceed three. At the "General Meeting,"—a conference held with the view of preparing for a General Assembly,—two lay-elders declared in the face of the brethren, that, for twenty miles westward of Perth, there were not more than two or three Presbyterian ministers <sup>1</sup>.

These statements, which are made with great confidence by the ejected churchmen, derive some countenance from the fact, nowhere denied, that, in all the universities of Scotland, there were only four individuals among the professors, heads of houses, and principals, who were inclined to presbytery. Accordingly, when the visitation of these seats of learning took place, it was found necessary to expel from the colleges of St. Andrew's and Edinburgh

<sup>1</sup> Dr. M'Cormick, in his *Life of Carstares*, p. 50, alluding to the expulsion of the Episcopal ministers, remarks: "In this way, whole provinces were deprived of the means of religious instruction, especially in the north, where most part of the people were inclined to Episcopacy." This observation is in strict accordance with the statements of the deprived ministers themselves, especially of Bishop Sage in his "*Fundamental Charter*," and "*Case of the Afflicted Clergy*," &c.

every Regent, Master, and Teacher, save one, as being devoted to the principles of the older communion. Glasgow was treated with greater lenity, though the Principal and several of the professors were set aside for refusing submission to the new government in Church and State. Aberdeen escaped for a time, though usually esteemed the most episcopal seminary in North Britain; the Commissioners there being restrained by considerations which have not been fully explained<sup>1</sup>.

If, then, the sentiments of the people could be gathered from those of the better informed classes of society, it must be doubtful whether the accounts transmitted to William, respecting the "inclinations" of the Scotch, were founded in fact. It has never been called in question that the greater part of the nobility and gentry were disposed towards episcopacy; that the universities were decidedly in favour of the same polity; that the College of Justice, one of the most influential corporations in the north, had taken arms in support of the episcopal ministers;

<sup>1</sup> "The visitation of St. Andrew's was managed by the Earl of Crawford, as President, who acted with remarkable harshness and severity, and was much blamed even by his friends for his rough, uncivil behaviour to the Masters, particularly the Reverend Dean, old Dr. Weems, Principal of St. Leonard's College, who had been a regent forty-five years, and had taught Crawford his philosophy. Yet my Lord would not allow him the favour of a seat; and when the old man's infirmities obliged him to rest himself on the step of a stair, he sent an officer of Court to raise him and make him stand. So, under this imperious censor, the Masters of this University were all turned out, and the place left without any face of education for a long time."—Skinner, vol. ii. p. 555.



and that of the clergy themselves, a vast majority were averse to the change accomplished by the Revolution. Nay, the author of the "Vindication of the Church of Scotland, as by Law Established," the new Principal of Edinburgh College, admits that "*all the gang of the clergy, except a few, the College of Justice, and the generality of the burgesses,*" were episcopally inclined; though he is disposed to claim a larger proportion than his antagonist allows, of the nobles and wealthy landowners.

It does not appear, indeed, that the counties around the capital, the richest and most enlightened in the kingdom, were deeply affected with that spirit of fanaticism and rebellion which animated the peasantry of the south-western districts. In Wallace's "Narrative of the rising of Pentland," it is lamented that many came not from other shires "to help this honest party." So far, in truth, from helping them to overthrow the Government and admit a foreign enemy, the nation, in general, were ready to take the field against them. In particular, "the three Lothians were very active in and about the time of the skirmish, and after, in the flight, took many more than Dalzell's men did, and killed several in their escaping; for which they may look for a scourge in due time, for their savage cruelty, from Him in whose sight the blood of the saints is precious<sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of Veitch, &c. edited by Dr. M'Cree, p. 425. 'On this occasion, the clergy in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh were not less hostile to the western insurgents than the lairds and hinds of Lothian. Mr. Andrew Cant, minister of Libberton, applied to them the following words, from the prophet Isaiah: "And they shall pass through it hardly bestead and hungry, and

The reader of this portion of Scottish history cannot but feel some curiosity to be informed, how a minority, possessing neither the wealth nor learning of the nation, could effect an object so important as an entire change in the polity of the Church. It is well-known, then, that even a great kingdom may be thrown into such circumstances as to place in the hands of a very small faction, if favourably situated, and led by determined men, the destinies of the whole people, both as to civil and ecclesiastical institutions. In an age when intercourse between the different parts of a country is slow and difficult, a revolution may be consummated at the seat of government before the remoter provinces can receive any notice of its progress; and in such a case the transmission of power from one dynasty to another, or from one class of leaders to their successors, may be so sudden, and yet so irretrievable, that the labours of a century may be undone in a week. For example, when the two Bishops who were despatched from Edinburgh, on the intelligence that the Prince of Orange had landed, arrived in London, they found, instead of an arbiter between James and his subjects, a new King on the throne, and in possession of all the attributes of royalty. These prelates were, consequently, unprepared to act in the name of their brethren; and as William was surrounded by Presbyterians, who had joined him in Holland, and maintained in the interval a regular correspondence with their native country, he received from the latter, assurances of

it shall come to pass, that when they shall be hungry, they shall fret themselves, and curse their King and their God, and look upward."

support, which the others could not give, even if they had been personally disposed to submit to his rule. There was no time for deliberation; the Prince, to use the words of Compton, had thrown himself upon the water and was keeping himself a-swimming with one hand; it was therefore necessary for his interests, that the churchmen of Scotland should decide whether they would at once purchase his favour, or see it pass to their opponents.

But, independently of these circumstances, which had great weight at Court, the addresses presented to William in the name of the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland, as well as in that of the city of Edinburgh, appear to have been written by Carstares in London, and forwarded to the north for adoption by these bodies respectively. The divine just named, had exerted himself to convince the King that the greater part of the people were Presbyterians, and ready with open arms to embrace him as their Sovereign. "As an evidence of this last particular," says his biographer, "he introduced to his Majesty the Commissioners of the Presbyterian clergy, who, upon intimation from him, had repaired to London, with an address full of gratitude to the Prince of Orange, for his seasonable interposition. This address was the more acceptable, as it was thought to contain the sentiments of the Commons of Scotland, whose oracles the clergy then were. As I find copies of this address, and likewise of that of the city of Edinburgh, written in Mr. Carstares' hand, it is probable they were transmitted to Scotland by him, and adopted by these communities <sup>1</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> Life of Carstares, by M'Cormick, pp. 36, 37.

In this way William saw the affairs of his northern kingdom only through the medium which was prepared for his eyes by an avowed partizan, who endeavoured to find facts wherewith to fortify the counsel he had previously given. When it was once resolved to abolish Episcopacy, the patrons of which looked on the Revolution with an unfriendly eye, fit instruments were found for the accomplishment of the royal purpose. The Duke of Hamilton, whose proceedings had been slow and hesitating, was succeeded as High Commissioner by Lord Melvil, who made haste to concede all that the King meant to grant, and some things which he wished to retain <sup>1</sup>.

Having changed the basis on which church-government was rested, it became, in some degree, necessary to get rid of such of the clergy as were decidedly opposed to the Revolution settlement, whether as to politics or religion. A considerable number had been expelled by the rabble in the western counties ;

<sup>1</sup> Though the Presbyterian Church owed much to Mr. Carstairs, many of the ministers considered him as lukewarm in their cause, insinuating that he did not exert all the influence he possessed with King William. His biographer, in defending him from this charge, remarks, that though he " was the best friend ever the Presbyterians had at Court, yet he knew too well the spirit of the party not to foresee the danger of their abusing that power which was to be put into their hands ; that some from the narrowness of their principles with respect to church-government, others irritated by the injuries they had received from those of the Episcopal persuasion, might be disposed to push matters farther against them than was consistent with his Majesty's interest, or the maxims of sound policy. He was therefore of opinion, that the King should give them to understand that he would have his ears ever open to the just complaints of such as were injured or oppressed." p. 40.

and these the Convention of States took especial care not to reinstate in their livings, by extending their protection to such only as, on the 13th April, 1689, were in the actual possession of Kirks, and in the exercise of their ministry. The secret reason for this resolution, in regard to the "outed" ministers, as they were called, had a reference to the exercise of patronage, by which they were nominated to their cures soon after the Restoration; and in the draught of the act for establishing presbytery, this reason was distinctly assigned. But William, who perceived its tendency, as affecting the general principle of appointing clergymen to their benefices, objected to its insertion; though he did not think it expedient to interpose in behalf of the two hundred incumbents who had been violently extruded from their charges<sup>1</sup>.

(1689). In a proclamation issued on the day just specified, all the ministers of the Gospel in the kingdom were commanded to pray for William and Mary, as King and Queen of this realm. The clergy of Edinburgh were required, under pain of being deprived and losing their benefices, to read this state

<sup>1</sup> Among the "Remarks" already mentioned, there is the following made by his Majesty:—

"6th. Whereas, it is desired to be enacted, that the parishes of those thrust out by the people in the beginning of this Revolution, be declared vacant upon this reason, *because they were put upon congregations without their consent*, his Majesty desires it may be expressed in such a manner as is perfectly consistent with the rights of patrons, which he hath the more reason to insist upon, that in the paper sent up along with the act, it seems to be acknowledged that this procedure is extraordinary, and, therefore, ought not to be drawn into consequence."

paper in their churches the following day, the 14th which happened to be Sunday; those south of Tay were enjoined, under the same penalties, to read it on the 21st; and all north of Tay were subjected to the same obligation on Sabbath the 28th.

Considering that this notice to transfer allegiance from one dynasty to another, in defiance of the most solemn oaths, did not extend beyond a few hours (for copies of the proclamation were not delivered till Saturday evening), it cannot be surprising, that several of the ministers hesitated, and others refused to comply, until time was given for consideration. Besides, the crown of Scotland had not yet been offered to William and Mary, and was not, in fact, accepted by them for nearly a month afterwards; whence it is manifest, that, at the juncture when the clergy were commanded to pray for these personages as King and Queen of the realm, they were, in the eye of constitutional law, nothing more than private individuals. It was in vain, however, to urge these reasons; the Court of Inquiry proceeded to examine witnesses, and most of the ministers who had omitted the reading of the proclamation, were divested of their office, and stripped of their professional income<sup>1</sup>.

But, lest any should escape who had ventured to disobey an injunction at once so irregular and so

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Strachan, the learned Professor of Divinity, and one of the ministers of Edinburgh, pressed this argument, that as William and Mary had neither accepted the crown, nor taken the coronation oath, they could not be regarded as the Sovereigns of Scotland, at the date of the proclamation. His reasons were treated with contempt, and he was forthwith deprived.

hastily urged, the Privy Council, instigated by the zealous Earl of Crawford, set forth an order in the month of August, "allowing and inviting the parishioners and hearers of such ministers as have neglected and slighted the reading of the proclamation, and have not prayed for King William and Queen Mary to cite such ministers before the Privy Council ; and grants warrant for citing and adducing witnesses to prove the same, that such ministers as have disobeyed, may, by a legal sentence, be deprived of their benefices ; and ordains, that these presents be published at the Market Cross of Edinburgh, and other places needful, that none may pretend ignorance."

In a time of political commotion, when the spirits of men are embittered with resentment and zeal, there are few clergymen against whom two parishioners or *hearers* may not be found to bear witness ; and this general invitation coming from such an authority to a hot sort of people, had a ready obedience paid to it. Agents and informers made it their business to dilate recusant persons, who were instantly cited to appear before the Privy Council. Some stated, in their defence, that the proclamation did not reach them in due time ; others pleaded, that though they had not read the document in question, they prayed for the King and Queen ; while a third party, assigned as a reason for omission, that the paper was not conveyed to them through the proper channel, the hands of their Ordinaries, who were still one of the estates of Parliament. To these expostulations a deaf ear was turned by their partial judges ; about two hundred ministers were deprived, including almost all the parochial clergy in Berwickshire, Roxburgh-

shire, the three Lothians, Fife, Stirlingshire. Perthshire, and some in Aberdeen, Moray, and Ross <sup>1</sup>.

By these hasty and intemperate proceedings, the governors of the Kirk produced an evil similar to that which was occasioned, in the diocese of Glasgow, by the resignation of the ministers who would not accept presentation nor episcopal induction. As there was not a sufficient number of preachers to supply so great a demand, presbyteries were compelled to license many young men who were far from being possessed of that literature, liberality of sentiment, or those other accomplishments which are deemed ornamental to the ministerial character; and the want of these endowments was no disqualification in the eyes of those into whose hands the election had been suffered to fall. For, although by the statute on which the Church settlement was now founded, the choice of ministers was vested in the conjunct body of landholders and elders, yet it was in the power of the clergy, in every instance, to throw the balance into the hands of the latter, by increasing their votes in what proportion they pleased; and it is said, that many complaints upon this head were made by the nobility and gentry of Scotland during the reigns of William and Anne <sup>2</sup>.

(1690.) By the Act of Parliament which established Presbyterianism, it was provided, that the government of the Church should be vested in those ministers who were ejected from their livings subse-

<sup>1</sup> Case of present Afflicted Episcopal Clergy in Scotland, p. 10—16.

<sup>2</sup> Life of Carstares, p. 50.



quently to the 1st January, 1661, and in such other ministers and elders as they had already admitted, or might thereafter admit. Of these deprived incumbents, about sixty were still alive, who, as might have been expected, showed themselves very little inclined to proceed upon the principles of lenity and conciliation recommended to them by the King. The object of this clause was perfectly manifest, being intended at once to exclude from the administration of clerical affairs all such clergymen as might conform, and to place the supreme power in the hands of men who would grant no concession. "What is it," said the Duke of Hamilton, "but instead of fourteen prelatical Bishops, to give unlimited authority to fifty or sixty presbyterian ones, from whom the episcopal clergy could expect little justice and less mercy?"

In allusion to those pastors who, in the winter of 1688, had been driven from their parishes by the mob, the Act describes them as certain ministers who have either deserted, or been removed from preaching in their kirks; and declares all such cures vacant, and open to the possession of Presbyterian preachers. The Duke, in reply to this statement, exclaims, "It is wonderful to call these men *deserters*, when it is notorious, all the kingdom over, that they were driven away by the most barbarous violence; and it is no less wonderful to declare their kirks vacant, because of their being removed from them; for what could be the sense of the word *removed* in this case, but just neither more nor less than *rabbled*? And what might the world think of the justice of Parliament, if it should sustain that as sufficient ground for declaring their kirks vacant?" But such reason-

ing was entirely lost, because, as it was resolved to establish presbytery, it had become indispensably requisite that the number of episcopal incumbents should be diminished throughout the Church, and their places supplied by men who would not hesitate to support the new polity.

The purpose now mentioned was more speedily and completely accomplished by another clause of the Act, which “ allowed the foresaid Presbyterian ministers and elders, either by themselves or by visitors authorized by them, to try and purge out all insufficient, negligent, scandalous, and erroneous ministers, by due course of ecclesiastical process and censures ; ordaining, that whatever minister, being summoned before these visitors, shall refuse to appear, or, on appearing, shall be found guilty by them, every such minister shall, by their sentence, be, *ipso facto*, suspended from or deprived of their kirks, stipends, and benefices.”

This became a tremendous instrument in the hands of bigotted men, still smarting under the indignities and losses which they had sustained during the two former reigns. They consisted, generally speaking, of the Remonstrants, that party who had proved so unmanageable during the ascendancy of the Kirk itself, and who had denounced even the moderate Presbyterians as depraved characters. Some of them had been actually deposed by their own judicatories for violating the laws of the General Assembly ; for setting at nought the authority of their courts ; and for introducing usages quite inconsistent with the formularies to which they had bound themselves to adhere. To invest such persons with the power of depriving

insufficient and erroneous ministers of the older communions, was nothing less than to supply them with an opportunity of gratifying their worst passions, under the guise of zeal for purity of doctrine, and covered by the forms of a legal process. The Earl of Linlithgow made a motion "for giving toleration to those of the episcopal persuasion to worship God after their own manner, and particularly that whoso were inclined to use the English Liturgy might do it safely." But the benevolent intentions of his lordship, though not directly opposed, were entirely defeated by an influence which soon became predominant<sup>1</sup>.

It need not be mentioned that the commissioners for depriving scandalous and insufficient ministers, were in most cases equally severe and unjust. Their inquiries were usually confined to the facts, whether the proclamation had been read in church on the day appointed, and whether prayers were regularly offered up in public for William and Mary. It is true, that vicious and irregular conduct was not unfrequently alleged against the obnoxious clergy ; but when they appeared at the bar, the immoral part was wholly omitted by the judges ; and even when, in order to vindicate their characters, they insisted on an examination of evidence, sentence of deprivation was pronounced on the two grounds already stated.

<sup>1</sup> It is every where known, that Mr. Hugh Kennedy, the Moderator of the first General Assembly after the Revolution, was formally deposed by a Presbyterian Synod, in 1660, upon sundry charges, especially for being a "firebrand among his brethren," and for certain opinions stated in a book, entitled, "The Causes of God's Wrath upon Scotland."

In the reports, however, sent to court, "the immoralities of the ministers' lives, which were only pretended in the summons, but never spoken of in the trials," were represented as the true cause of their being ejected from their livings<sup>1</sup>.

These proceedings gave great offence to the King, who had repeatedly expressed his desire, that indulgence should be granted to the episcopal clergy. He saw that the Act had conferred on the Presbyterians an extent of power which, from prejudice and passion, there was too much reason to apprehend they would abuse; and there can be no doubt that it placed the ministers of the former establishment entirely at the mercy of men who had been exasperated against them. "His fears," says Dr. Cook, "were well founded. This harshness to their episcopal brethren continued, and was at length carried so far, that his Majesty dissolved the Assembly which was held in 1692, and was with difficulty persuaded again to countenance its meeting. The episcopal clergy also took the alarm. They dreaded that the visitations would be rendered subservient to oppression; and

<sup>1</sup> Case of Episcopal Clergy. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 560. "One common topic of charge," says the latter writer, "was the using the doxology, and the recommending to their people such superstitious books as Dr. Scougal's Catechism, and the 'Whole Duty of Man.' But the general ground of accusation against the episcopal clergy, and which the indictment never omitted, was their having entered by presentation from a patron, and by ordination, collation, and institution from a Bishop; which they boldly affirmed was 'contrary to the word of God, to the constitution of this Kirk, to the Acts of Assemblies, and to the Land's Solemn Engagements.'"

not a few who, had gentler measures been adopted, would have gladly conformed, resigned in despair<sup>1</sup>."

It was not, however, found easy to carry these severities every where into execution. In the counties north of the Tay, the great majority of the people, with almost all the nobility and gentry, gave a decided preference to the episcopal form of Church rule; and it was known to be the wish of William, that such of the clergy as should take the oaths to his government, and pray for him and the queen in terms directed by law, should be allowed to retain their parishes during their natural lives, without being subjected to the jurisdiction of presbyteries. Throughout the one-half of Scotland, therefore, with the declared will of the Sovereign and the inclinations of the people against them, the visitors could not always get those whom they chose to consider insuffi-

<sup>6</sup> Cook, vol. iii. p. 452. The remarks of Dr. M'Cormick, another presbyterian author, further corroborate the statement in the text. "No sooner had he (the King) consented to the establishment of presbytery, than, by the indiscreet management of those who were intrusted by him in the direction of Scottish affairs, and the headstrong violence of the Presbyterian clergy, he began to repent of what he had done in their favour.—The Presbyterian clergy, instead of conducting themselves with that temper and moderation which sound policy dictated, and the King earnestly enjoined, so disgusted him with their proceedings, by narrowing the terms of assumption for the episcopal clergy, and rejecting the plan of accommodation which was offered in their name, and approved by the King, that his commissioner to the General Assembly, according to his instructions, suddenly dissolved that court.—Their conduct in this particular likewise irritated the episcopal clergy to such a degree, that few of them chose to incorporate with the establishment."—*Life of Carstares*, pp. 43. 50.

cient, scandalous, and erroneous, turned out of their livings; but they took effectual care that they should have no successors, nor any voice in the administration of ecclesiastical affairs<sup>1</sup>.

The Parliament, which met in 1690, passed an Act, prohibiting every deprived minister from preaching or exercising *any part* of his ministerial function, either in vacant churches or *elsewhere*, until he should present himself before the Privy Council, take the oath of allegiance, and engage to pray for King William and Queen Mary, as King and Queen of the realm. Had this rigor been exercised only against such non-juring episcopal clergymen, as should take upon them to officiate in a parish church, it could not, with propriety, have been considered as persecution; though, in the actual state of the country, when so many parishes were destitute of the means of public worship by clergymen of any description, it might have been regarded as a very unwise measure. But to subject the non-complying ministers to the judgment of a Scottish Privy Council—the Star-Chamber of the north—should they presume to baptize a child, or perform any other official duty in private, was certainly to expose them and their adherents to suffering for conscience sake.

<sup>1</sup> Skinner, vol. ii. p. 584. In many parishes in the counties of Perth, Forfar, Kincardine, and Aberdeen, the episcopal clergy continued to do duty to their congregations as before the Revolution, though Presbyterian ministers had been appointed, and enjoyed the stipend. A military force was sometimes employed, to expel the Episcopalians; while, in other cases, to obviate the application of such violence, the pastor and his flock retired together to a chapel or other edifice, where they might worship God after their own manner.

(1693.) It would appear, however, that the laymen of the presbyterian party in the government were under some apprehension that many of the deprived clergy, interpreting the oath of allegiance as binding them to nothing more than quiet submission to the government of William and Mary, and an unostentatious discharge of their duties as peaceable subjects, might comply with the conditions proposed, and thus get legal possession of the vacant churches. To prevent this, and perhaps to accomplish other objects, which have not been clearly understood, an Act was passed by Parliament, in April this year, appointing all in public employment, and, among others, the clergy, to make and subscribe the following declaration : “ I do, in the sincerity of my heart, assert, acknowledge, and declare, that their Majesties King William and Queen Mary are the only lawful and undoubted sovereigns, King and Queen of Scotland, as well *de jure* as *de facto* ; and therefore I do sincerely and faithfully promise and engage, that I will, with heart and hand, life and goods, maintain and defend their Majesties’ title and government against the late King James and his adherents, and all other enemies, who, either by open or secret attempts, shall disturb or disquiet their Majesties in the exercise thereof.”

At that period, so far was the title of King William and Queen Mary to the throne of Scotland from being undoubted, that even the Presbyterian clergy refused to take this oath. So resolutely, indeed, did they withstand it, that they would, in all probability, have excited a rebellion against the Government, had not Carstares, who may be considered as the King’s

agent for ecclesiastical affairs among the Scots, prevailed on his master to refrain from imposing it upon them. The General Assembly was about to meet; and an order was issued by the Sovereign, that, before proceeding to their deliberations, every member should take the oath of Allegiance and Assurance. The commissioner, finding the ministers determined to resist, conveyed this intelligence to London; but his Majesty was inflexible, being confirmed in his sentiments by the Earl of Stair and Lord Tarbet—the avowed advocates of the Kirk—who now represented the obstinacy of the clergy as downright rebellion. The King had already dispatched a mandate, enjoining obedience at all hazards, when Carstares, aware of the consequences which would ensue, stopped the courier, rushed into the royal presence, and obtained fresh instructions to be sent to Edinburgh, whereby the evils of the crisis were obviated<sup>1</sup>.

But the forbearance thus exercised towards the established ministers, was not extended to those of the episcopal persuasion, though it must have been well known that their political principles were not more pliant in respect to the new dynasty. It was therefore little better than a piece of solemn mockery to make to them the offer of a certain boon, on condition that they would qualify themselves for it, by taking and subscribing the oaths of Allegiance and

<sup>1</sup> In the Life of Carstares there is an interesting account of this occurrence, as also a Letter from the English Presbyterians, instigating their brethren of the General Assembly to resist the imposition of the oath. P. 57, &c.



Assurance; a stipulation which the Presbyterians themselves, who acknowledged the government of William, had rejected with so much anger and contempt. The benefit to be conferred, in return for this act of submission, was legal security in the possession of their livings in the meantime, and an eventual introduction, as constituent members, into the Church judicatories. But it cannot appear strange, that few clergymen availed themselves of this ambiguous concession; for had they accepted, they must have rendered their characters contemptible in the eyes of all their countrymen, who, though they acquiesced in the arrangements by which the Crown had been transferred to William, were far from being ready to declare, before God, that he enjoyed it on the principle of an inherent or divine right. Yet it has been said, by a recent historian, that the episcopal ministers thereby “deservedly exposed themselves to deposition;” and that “the doors of conformity were thrown so widely open to them, that this very circumstance prevented them from profiting by the lenity which was shown<sup>1</sup>.”

<sup>1</sup> Cook, vol. iii. p. 454. There is, in this part of Dr. Cook's work, a slight violation of that candour and accuracy, to the praise of which he is justly entitled. He has placed the proposal made to the episcopal clergy *before* the Act imposing the oath of Assurance, though the latter passed in April, and the former did not come forth till June. The reader is therefore induced to believe, that in the qualification required, the oath of Assurance was not included. He says, the Act “ordained that all the episcopal ministers having churches, who offered, within thirty days, to qualify before any ecclesiastical judicatory, *in the manner which has been mentioned*, should have a part in the government of the Church,” &c. Now the oath of Assurance, though pre-

The oath of Assurance, as already hinted, was tendered to the episcopal clergy, who, rather than take it, resigned their livings, and chose for a while to forbear the exercise of their ministry, as well in private as in public. Some time afterwards, however, when they found that the oath was not taken by the clergy of the establishment, they ventured to perform divine worship in their own houses every Lord's-day; leaving the doors open, that whoever was inclined might join with them and their families in that holy service. This conduct was considered as a heinous offence; and a list of the principal offenders was accordingly transmitted to the Privy Council, who passed sentence upon two of them, the Archdeacon of St. Andrew's, and Dr. Nicholson, of Errol, banishing both from their respective dwellings<sup>1</sup>.

The deprived ministers were the more frequently invited to discharge official duties, that their successors had created certain obstacles to the dispensation of the sacraments, the importance of which, considered as means of grace, they, at the same time, laboured much to undervalue. The General Assembly, which convened in 1690, discharged "the admi-

*viously* enacted, is not alluded to by Dr. Cook till *afterwards*, and of course cannot be conceived by his reader, as making a part of the qualification required. The episcopal ministers, accordingly, though they only followed their Presbyterian brethren in refusing the said oath, are represented as unreasonable, and fully meriting their deposition!

See also "Act of Parliament for settling the Quiet and Peace of the Church, 12 June, 1693," in the Appendix to Life of Carstares, p. 795.

<sup>1</sup> Skinner, vol. ii. p. 592.

nistration of the Lord's Supper to sick persons in their houses, and all other use of the same, except in the public assemblies of the Church; and also doth discharge the administration of baptism in private; that is, in any place or at any time, when the congregation is not orderly called together to wait upon the dispensing of the word." One of the members not only declaimed against private baptism as superstitious, but called it even "sorcery and charming," and maintained it to be contrary to scripture and antiquity<sup>1</sup>.

(1695.) As the episcopal clergy could not think themselves bound by such regulations, an Act of Parliament was passed, strictly prohibiting and discharging "any outed minister to baptize any children or solemnize marriage betwixt any parties in all time coming, under pain of imprisonment, until he find caution to go out of the kingdom, and never to return thereto." This was the severest blow which had been hitherto aimed at the deprived priesthood; and it was directly aimed, not at their politics, but at their religion.

The civil government, during this interval, were not a little displeased at the difficulties thrown in the way of a final accommodation with the non-jurors. The original distinction made in favour of the ministers who had relinquished their charges in 1662, confined the management of ecclesiastical affairs to

<sup>1</sup> "You think it necessary to have your children baptized," said Mr. Kirkton; "but I tell you I knew a good, godly minister, who lived till he was fourscore, and was never baptized in all his life."

the hands of the more bigoted class of Presbyterians; and hence, in the several acts which were passed for the regulation of the Church, it is easy to perceive the influence of the crown systematically counteracted by a powerful interest arising from the new establishment. In July, 1695, the legislature made an advance towards securing the compliance of the episcopal incumbents, by assuring all such as should come in and qualify themselves, that they should enjoy his Majesty's protection as to their respective kirks and stipends; but adding, that they should have no power in the licensing or ordaining of ministers, nor any share of government in General Assemblies, Synods, or Presbyteries, unless they were first duly *assumed* by a competent church-judicatory. As one of the conditions usually held indispensable in this case, was the abjuration of prelacy, as an anti-christian usurpation, it cannot appear surprising, that few, even of those who were suffered to retain their livings, were admitted as members of their several presbyteries<sup>1</sup>.

During the whole reign of King William, indeed, the Episcopalians, owing to their supposed bias in favour of the older dynasty, were much discountenanced in Scotland, and their clergy subjected to many hardships; but, as has been already mentioned, the greater part of the nobility and landholders of ancient families, continued strongly attached to that form of ecclesiastical polity, and afforded them both

<sup>1</sup> Many of the clergy who did accede to the proposal just mentioned, were not a little harassed by their new brethren, on the grounds of insufficiency and error. See "The third Collection of Papers, containing the sufferings of those ministers who complied." Case of Clergy, p. 62.

support and protection. In the northern counties, we are assured, the preference for episcopacy was so strong, that little regard was paid to the Presbyterian courts ; and the ministers who kept their kirks, being shielded by the gentry and beloved by the people, seldom or never appeared before these new tribunals. In some parishes, where the old patrons were the principal proprietors, and thereby had influence over the inhabitants, the vacant churches were filled with clergymen who had received episcopal ordination, either from the Bishop of the diocese, or from some other, whose residence was less distant. The result, viewed as affecting the body at large, was more singular than gratifying to either party ; presenting the spectacle of a national Church, which, in strict language, was neither Presbyterian nor Episcopal, but a heterogeneous compound of two jarring denominations ; both of them publicly acknowledged to be ministers of the gospel, invested with pastoral charges, and formally confirmed by legal authority, though they were not in full communion with each other, nor agreeing in some essential parts of divine worship.

It cannot have escaped the reader, that both in 1638 and 1688, the Church in Scotland was overthrown by a pressure from without, directed by an active faction, and influenced by political motives. In the former case, the clergy were not allowed to choose their own delegates to represent them in the General Assembly, because it was known that a great majority of them were friendly to the episcopal form of government ; while, at the era of the Revolution, the countenance of the state was withdrawn, because

the Bishops could not, without being allowed time for due reflection, consent to transfer their allegiance from one sovereign to another. On this occasion, also, the parochial incumbents, throughout the greater part of the kingdom, were averse to the change ; a remark which may be perhaps extended to the people, except in the disturbed districts, where the principles of the Covenant had taken a deeper root<sup>1</sup>.

The harmony of the new establishment, and perhaps the spirit of toleration which it could now afford to cherish, were not a little impaired by the countenance which it had been thought necessary to bestow upon the Covenanters, the true representatives of the old Remonstrants. This class of men, warmly animated with the spirit of republicanism, and decidedly hostile to any connection between Church and State which did not imply an exclusive system of theological opinion, had opposed every step towards accom-

<sup>1</sup> The statements of episcopal writers on this subject, must, no doubt, be received with some caution ; but they are unanimous in asserting, that, except in the confederated counties, the great body of the people was with them. Alluding to the " inclinations of the people," on which the Presbyterian establishment was avowedly founded, the author of the " Fundamental Charter" maintains, that such inclinations could not be collected from any clamour made, at that time, against prelacy by the generality of the people ; there were no such clamours in the mouths of the *twentieth part* of the people. They could not collect them from the people's separation from the episcopal clergy, during the time of King James's toleration : the *tenth part* of the nation had not separated.—Is it reasonable to judge of a *whole kingdom* by a *corner of it*—to call those the sentiments of *all* the kingdom, which were only the sentiments of four or five counties ?" pp. 297, 299.

modation in the reign of Charles the Second, and even denounced as traitors to the cause of ecclesiastical supremacy,—their own favourite object,—the more sober part of the Presbyterians, who followed the moderate counsels of Douglas and Baillie. The latter body, who were at once more numerous and more respectable than the other, had their eyes constantly open to the hazard which might arise to their common interests, from the unconstitutional principles and enthusiastic tempers of their ardent brethren. Indeed, they were little inclined to own them as members of the same communion; being aware that their conduct, whether as churchmen or as the subjects of a regular government, would not reflect much honour upon them, when viewed from a throne whose stability had its chief dependence on the submissive habits of the people. It was under the influence of such feelings, that, in their address to King James, already quoted, they alluded to the Cameronians in these rather uncourteous terms. They “humbly besought his Majesty that those who promote any disloyal principles and practices, *as we do disown them, may be looked upon as none of ours*, whatsoever name they may assume to themselves.”

But, upon the establishment of the Presbyterian Church, at the Revolution, in order to deprive the Episcopalians of any share in ecclesiastical affairs, it was deemed expedient, as already stated, to restrict the actual administration of its concerns to those ministers who had been ejected, or had retired, in the year 1662; that is, in other words, to the Remonstrants and Covenanters, whose intemperate proceedings had thwarted all attempts at accommodation with the crown, and

even repeatedly menaced the existence of their own communion, regarded simply as a spiritual society, acknowledging the authority of its own laws. In consequence of the arrangement now stated, the Moderator of the first General Assembly was selected from that violent faction who had so often derided the power of the highest judicatory of the Kirk. This dignitary, as has been already mentioned, had been formally deposed by a Presbyterian Synod, upon sundry charges urged against him, and more especially for being a "firebrand among his brethren."

The accession of the Cameronians, though useful to the new establishment so long as the aid of carnal weapons was required, contributed not a little to those heats and contentions which, during several years, disturbed her ecclesiastical courts, and retarded her compliance with the views of government. But this disadvantage was amply balanced in the eyes of those politicians who wished to magnify the extent of suffering which the people of Scotland had undergone for their attachment to presbytery; knowing, that if they omitted the Covenanters of the West, the annals of martyrdom would shrink within a very narrow compass. The "sober Presbyterians," as they were commonly called, had availed themselves of the Indulgence, and usually attended the parish churches, while the conventicles and field meetings

<sup>1</sup> "This famous preacher," says Mr. Skinner, "was a ring-leader among the Remonstrators, and had been with the army at Newcastle, when the King was delivered up to the English; at which time, it is said, Mr. Kennedy, for his services on the occasion, got 6,000 marks of the purchase-money." Vol. ii. p. 574.



received no countenance except from those who, in the language of the Address, promoted "disloyal principles and practices." The wounds and scars, therefore, which the men of Pentland and Bothwell Bridge could exhibit, were graceful ornaments on the face of a religious body who took no less pleasure than pride, in referring to the tribulations they had endured for conscience' sake. It ought not to be forgotten, however, that the party who really fought and bled for "Christ's crown and covenant" in the high places of the field, were not the men who ultimately succeeded to the privileges of an establishment and the comforts of a legal provision. The followers of Cameron and Cargill were courted only for a time ; their concurrence was useful for a temporary purpose ; they stood forth as the victims of tyranny and the martyrs of truth ; and their exploits and punishments were used, as they sometimes are at the present day, to round a period in a popular harangue, by men who had abjured their principles and disliked their characters. As a proof of this, it may be remarked, that the Covenant, which before the Revolution was held by many as more sacred than their baptism, was not so much as mentioned in the first General Assembly which met under the new government. Its obligations were neglected, or permitted to fall into oblivion ; and it was in vain that Shiels and Linnen, two ministers belonging to the order of field preachers, reminded the members of their defection from true Presbyterian principles, and undertook to convict them, in their own court, of rank apostacy. A wiser or a more accommodating spirit now governed the Kirk ; and the descendants

of those who drew the sword at Loudon hill, soon found, that in order to enjoy their wonted freedom of thought and expression, they must leave what they now esteemed a corrupt and degraded society<sup>1</sup>.

(1702.) Fear, which always leads to oppressive measures, influenced deeply at that period the governors of both Church and State. King William, who trembled for the permanence of his throne, went down to his grave, leaving, for the more honest of his people, a burden which few of them were able or disposed to bear. When he was so weak that he could not write, he stamped his name on a commission for passing an Act enjoining the "oath of abjuration" in these terms: "I do solemnly and sincerely declare, that I do believe, in my conscience, that the person pretended to be Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James; and since his decease pretending to be, and taking upon himself the style and title of King of England, by the name of James the Third, or of Scotland, by the name of James the Eighth, or the style and title of King of Great Britain, hath not any right or title whatever to the crown of this realm, or any other the dominions thereto belonging; and I do renounce, refuse, and

<sup>1</sup> It has been remarked, by former historians, that the established Church in Scotland takes credit to herself for the sufferings endured by the Cameronians, though she embraced the earliest opportunity of disowning them, and denouncing their seditious principles. To show how little the people of Scotland generally took an interest in the disputes which threw the West into a flame, it may be mentioned that, from more than one-half of the kingdom, there was not, at the first General Assembly, a single representative, lay or clerical. Skinner, vol. ii. p. 573.

abjure any allegiance or obedience to him." The questions involved in this oath proved a stumbling to many who were friendly to the Revolution settlement, more particularly to the Episcopalians, the majority of whom had become non-jurors.

(1703.) A similar feeling of insecurity gave new force to the jealous emotion which the establishment had never ceased to entertain towards their brethren of the rival communion. The accession of Anne, who was known to have a decided preference for the prelatical form of Church government, and no deep dislike to the Jacobites, excited the alarm of the Presbyterians; who imagined, not without reason, that their interests were exposed to an increasing hazard, arising as well from the personal sentiments of the monarch, as from the prospect of a union between the two kingdoms. They accordingly watched with unceasing vigilance the movements of those official personages who might be supposed favourable to the pretensions of the ejected clergy; and determined to use all the powers of law for preventing their return to authority or emolument. The latter body, founding their hopes on the same considerations which had given rise to the fear of the others, addressed the Queen, reminding her that "the petitioners had been violently and unjustly turned out of their charges at the Revolution, and entreating her Majesty to compassionate them and their numerous families, who were reduced to a starving condition for their adhering to the true, primitive, and apostolic Church, of which her Majesty was a member." They were farther encouraged to take this step by the circumstance that the Duke of Ha-

milton had induced her to write a letter to the Privy Council in Scotland, in which she expressed her desire that the Presbyterian clergy should live in brotherly love and communion with such dissenting ministers of the reformed religion as were in possession of benefices, and conducted themselves with decency and submission to the government. Presuming on the royal favour, they even proposed, that those parishes in which there was a majority of episcopal freeholders should be allowed to confer the living on ministers of their own persuasion; a concession which, as it was inconsistent with the very existence of an establishment, could not be granted. She assured them, however, of her protection, and promised to do all in her power to provide for their necessities; exhorting them, in their turn, to cultivate friendly dispositions towards the clergymen who by law were invested with the Church-government in her ancient kingdom of Scotland. Such indications of kindness from so high a quarter were extremely gratifying; but it soon appeared, that certain necessities of State would completely counteract the benevolent intentions of the Sovereign. In the course of the year a motion was made in the Scottish Parliament, by the Earl of Strathmore, for an Act to confer toleration on all Protestants in the exercise of religious worship. This proposal excited the utmost indignation among the Presbyterians, who had already forgotten that freedom of conscience holds any place in the blessings of civil society, and that the complaints with which they had formerly assailed the throne, respected the denial to themselves of this distinguished privilege. The General Assembly presented a most violent remonstrance; and the promoters of the bill, accordingly

foreseeing that it would meet with great opposition, allowed it to drop<sup>1</sup>.

The liberality of Queen Anne towards the Jacobites, to whom she extended an indemnity, by royal proclamation, added strength to her government in the north ; for believing that she considered herself as merely filling the office of regent in behalf of her absent brother, many of the laity, who were known to be staunch anti-revolutionists, took the oaths, and obtained seats in Parliament ; while numbers of the clergy, who had hitherto stood out, now prayed for her Majesty by name, and began to have public worship in separate chapels. This step was ventured on even by some who did not pray for her as Queen, among whom were all the Bishops ; and that she was not offended by their conduct in this respect was rendered evident by her bestowing on Dr. Rose, who had held the see of Edinburgh, a pension, which he retained till the year 1716.

About this period the use of the English Book of Common Prayer became very general in the episcopal chapels throughout the greater part of Scotland. Whether it was the dignity and solemnity of its offices which reconciled the people at large to liturgical worship, or whether the harmony now prevailing among them on this subject, arose from the fact, that all, both clergy and people, who had been hostile to the introduction of a liturgy into their Church, had gone over to the Presbyterians, is a point which cannot be determined with any degree of certainty ; but it admits not of doubt, that all objections to a regular service had disappeared, and that the Common

<sup>1</sup> Smollet's Continuation of Hume, vol. ix. p. 492.

Prayer was almost every where adopted. A large supply of this admirable compilation was sent from the south, free of expense, by some pious and benevolent persons, who pitied the condition of their brethren beyond the Tweed.

(1707.) In the meantime, the Queen, and indeed all who wished well to the empire at large, and could with judgment reflect on the past and look forward to the future, were labouring to accomplish a union of the two kingdoms. But to this measure, so full of benefit to their country, many Scotchmen, of all ranks, were extremely hostile. One objection, urged with much vehemence by the popular party, had a reference to the security of the Kirk, which, it was alleged, on grounds not destitute of plausibility, would be exposed to danger from the predominance of the English establishment in all the institutions of the State, joined to the influence of the higher classes in Scotland itself, the majority of whom were still Episcopalians. To remove the cause of this alarm, an order came down unexpectedly from court, commanding all the chapels to be immediately shut up; a measure which, having no apology but that of political expedience, must, to impartial eyes, have appeared very questionable, and at the same time little calculated to inspire confidence with regard to the future administration of national affairs. Had such a despotic resolution been enforced against the Covenanters, during the reigns of Charles and James, the fields would have been covered with conventicles, and the mountains would have bristled with arms. A testimony would have been lifted up on every high hill; the Privy Council would have been denounced and defied as vile time-

servers, traitors to the faith of their own bosoms, and trucklers to the secular interests of a latitudinarian age. But the prelatists showed that their principles led them to submit to lawful authority, when the countenance of the government was withdrawn, as well as when it dispensed its smiles and favours. The places of worship were closed, and the clergy retired into the bosom of domestic life, confining their ministry to the more private offices of religion.

(1709.) But it does not appear that this cloud continued long to throw an additional gloom on the humble condition of the Scottish Episcopalians; for, prior to the end of the year 1709, we find, that no fewer than thirteen congregations had again assembled in the city of Edinburgh. It is doubtful, however, whether the temper of the Presbyterian judicatories had become more gracious and tolerating towards their former rivals, though no direct collision seems to have taken place till the arrival of Mr. Greenshields from Ireland, who, in the course of the summer, opened a chapel in the metropolis. This clergyman, who was ordained by the deprived Bishop of Ross soon after the Revolution, had found employment in the diocese of Armagh, where he took all the oaths required by law, and was wont to pray for the Queen and the Princess Sophia by name. Finding that there were in the Scottish capital a number of English families, who, in consequence of the Union, had repaired thither to fill certain official situations, he agreed, for their accommodation, to perform divine service according to the usage of their national Church. It is not necessary to determine the precise motives which induced them to prefer his ministrations to those of the strictly indigenous

clergy ; but it is probable that, regarding him as a clerical member of the Irish establishment, they might consider themselves, when attending his chapel, as free from the imputation of showing favour to a communion, which, so far from being authorized by the government, had not yet received the benefit of simple toleration.

At all events, Mr. Greenshields had no sooner taken possession of a small chapel in the city, than the presbytery of Edinburgh summoned him to their bar, "to give an account of himself." At his appearance there, he produced his letters of orders and testimonials, revised and approved by the Lord Primate of all Ireland, and by two other Bishops, as was attested by their several subscriptions ; and having thereby complied as far as he thought it expedient, he told them he had, in a Christian manner, given them satisfaction that he was no vagabond ; adding, that, since it was plain, by his credentials, he was a minister of the communion of the Church of England, he conceived that, as such, he was not subject to their jurisdiction, and therefore declined their authority<sup>1</sup>.

In defiance however of a regular protest, he was informed, that, if he presumed to perform divine service

<sup>1</sup> Case of Mr. Greenshields, 1710. For the period now under consideration the reader may consult "Representation of the State of the Church in North Britain ;" "An Account of the late establishment of Presbyterian Government ;" "An Apology for the Clergy of Scotland ;" "Letter to a Friend, on the present Persecution of the Church of Scotland ;" "Account of the present Persecution of the Church ;" "Spirit of Calumny and Slander," &c. ; "Some Remarks on humble Representation of Presbyterians ;" "The Case of the Episcopal Clergy, First and Second Parts. "Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet entitled, 'An Answer to the Scots' Presbyterian Eloquence,' " &c.



again, he should be thrown into prison ; a sentence which was soon afterwards executed by the magistrates. The decision of the presbytery is given in these words:—" That the said Mr. Greenshields has, in high contempt of this Church established by law, declined their authority ; that he has exercised the ministry within the bounds of this presbytery, without their allowance, which is an unwarrantable intrusion ; and introduced a form of worship contrary to the purity and uniformity of the worship of this Church established by law. Wherefore the Presbytery did, and hereby do, unanimously prohibit and discharge the said Mr. Greenshields to exercise any part of the office of the holy ministry within their bounds, and recommends to the magistrates of Edinburgh and other judges competent, to render this sentence effectual." Having thus, according to the practice of ancient times, handed over the refractory priest to the civil power, the latter " ordained him to go to the prison and tolbooth of this city, therein to remain ay and while, he shall find caution that he shall desist from the exercise of his ministry within this city, liberties, and privileges, in all time coming, or else that he shall remove himself therefrom."

It has been already observed, that it is fortunate for the reputation of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, that she has never been invested with such power as would have enabled her to reduce to practice her speculative views, as to the duty of driving from the land all heresy and schism. King William frequently found it necessary to interpose in defence of the Episcopalians ; and Queen Anne at length saw the necessity of securing for them toleration by law ; a remedy which her government was led to

adopt, from considering the several circumstances of the case now stated. They saw a clergyman thrown into prison, where he was confined many months, for no other crime than that of performing divine service to certain natives of England, according to the form of their own church; and they learned that this act of unreasonable severity was justified by a reference to the Articles of Union between the two kingdoms, which secured to the Kirk her own discipline and worship. The Commission of the General Assembly, moved with indignation at the boldness of Greenshields, set forth an act “against innovations in the worship of God,” in which they reminded the public, “that the form, purity, and uniformity of worship, as now established, is to continue to the people of this land without any alteration in all succeeding generations.” After alluding to the supposed violation of this statute, by the introduction of the Liturgy into an English chapel, they legislate as follows: “Therefore, and upon all these considerations, We, the said Commission of the General Assembly, being moved with zeal for the glory of God, the purity and uniformity of his worship, and for securing the peace and quiet both of Church and State, do hereby discharge the practice of all such innovations in divine worship within this land.” And they command “presbyteries, in whose bounds these innovations are or may happen to be, to take notice of such innovators and innovations, and be careful to *prosecute* the foresaid innovators, and take trial of these innovations, and censure and *suppress* the same, according to the authority committed to them, and that they do apply to the civil magistrate

in the terms of law, for rendering their censures and sentences effectual <sup>1</sup>."

This Act, which breathed all the spirit of the Vatican in the fifteenth century, impressed the British Parliament with the conviction, that the law of the land, as expounded by the presbytery of Edinburgh and the Commission of the Assembly, must lead to the most oppressive intolerance. It could not be denied, that the discipline and worship of the Established Church were secured against all innovation, either on the part of the government or of her own members ; but the inference openly drawn from such enactments was not to be admitted, namely, that no other form of divine service practised by individuals of a different communion, was to be allowed in any succeeding generation. This species of persecution, it must be remembered, was directed entirely against religion, properly so called. When the Privy Council, in the days of Rothes and Lauderdale, tortured the unhappy Covenanters, they had some shadow of an apology in the suspicion entertained by them, that faith and worship were not the sole objects which carried the chief insurgents into the field. But in the reign of Anne, treason and the Liturgy could have no possible connection, especially in the hands of Englishmen ; and, therefore, to prosecute and imprison a clergyman for performing the rites of his Church agreeably to the wonted manner, was undoubtedly to proclaim war against freedom of conscience.

<sup>1</sup>Case of Mr. Greenshields, pp. 7, 8. An attempt was made to justify the severities inflicted on this clergyman, on the ground, that as he was ordained by a deprived Bishop, his orders were not valid.

It cannot, therefore, be surprising, that on the 3d March, 1712, there was passed by the Legislature of the United Kingdom, an Act to “prevent the disturbing of those of the Episcopal communion in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, in the exercise of their religious worship, and in the use of the Liturgy of the Church of England; and for repealing an Act passed in the Parliament of Scotland, entitled an Act against irregular baptisms and marriages;” declaring it to be lawful for all Episcopalians to assemble for divine worship in any place, except in parish churches, to be performed after their own manner, by pastors ordained by a Protestant Bishop.

This Act forms a remarkable epoch in the history of Scottish Episcopacy, after the Revolution, a period so full of suffering and change. It indeed subjected such of the clergy as should not take the oaths required by law, and likewise pray for the Queen by name, to severe penalties, yet it protected even them and their congregations from being disturbed during the performance of public worship; imposing a fine of one hundred pounds on all who should raise such disturbances, and repeating the penalty for every offence.

This benevolent measure secured to the great body of Episcopalians a relief from their fears, and even some ground of hope that the Sovereign, of whose attachment to their principles they had no doubt, might devise some method for contributing to their necessities. But these happy anticipations were all disappointed by the events which followed rapidly on the demise of the Queen; for no sooner did the

first George ascend the throne, than the Tory ministry, as it was called, were all turned out, and a proclamation was issued by the Whigs, for putting the laws in execution against all papists, non-jurors, and disaffected persons. Such violent measures, as they seemed to indicate that the royal favour was thenceforth to be withdrawn from at least one-half of the nation, excited very general disgust; and insurrections both in England and Scotland, in behalf of the exiled Prince, were the immediate consequence. The decisive battles of Dumblane and Preston, however, speedily quashed the expectations of the Jacobites, and were followed, as is usual in such cases, by confiscations, attainders, and executions. No statute, it is true, was enacted against the Episcopal Church till the month of April, 1719, when a bill was passed in Parliament "for making more effectual the laws appointing the oaths for the security of the government, to be taken by ministers of churches and meeting-houses, in Scotland."

By that arrangement every Episcopal clergyman performing divine worship in any meeting-house, within the bounds of North Britain, without having taken the oaths required by Queen Anne's Act of Toleration, and praying for King George and the royal family by name, was to suffer six months' imprisonment, during which, his chapel was to be shut up; and every house where nine or more persons, besides the family, should be present at divine worship, was declared to be a meeting-house within the meaning of the Act. This law was, no doubt, severe upon the clergy, but there is no proof that it was rigorously enforced; and at all events, it did not

in any way affect the civil interests of the nobility and gentry who still adhered to their communion. On the contrary, from this period down to the year 1746, the Church seems to have enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity. Her ministers were numerous and many of them learned, whilst her chapels were frequented by all orders of the people, from the highest peer to the meanest peasant; even judges and magistrates joined in her worship. Although the King was not prayed for by name, and although by far the greater number of her clergy were attached to the exiled prince, political opinions as to the claims of rival sovereigns, were at no time made terms of communion. In truth, many of the clerical order derided the doctrine of indefeasible hereditary right, and maintained the more convenient notion, that the monarch who affords protection to the people is entitled at once to their allegiance and prayers; but such individuals were restrained by the oath of abjuration from deviating from the general practice of their fathers and brethren.

This oath, as it supposed and implied a species of right, which, if it could be possessed by any one, they could not but think must belong to him whom they were called upon to abjure, the Episcopalians would not take; and without taking it, as well as the oaths of allegiance and Assurance, the praying for King George by name, would have been of no advantage to them whatever. Of this the magistrates, to whom was entrusted the execution of the laws, were fully sensible; and therefore, they seldom, if ever, enforced the penal part of the Act of Queen Anne.

(1743.) Resolved to profit by the tranquillity and

good understanding which now prevailed amongst them, the prelates formed themselves into a regular synod, where they enacted a number of canons, setting forth at once the constitution of their Church, and supplying rules for the administration of her affairs. These statutes, amounting to sixteen, afford a good specimen of the wisdom and moderation which distinguished the governors of a humble communion, who could boast of nothing but adherence to principle, and respect for what they esteemed the primitive model of a Christian society<sup>1</sup>.

This internal peace was still farther improved by the milder spirit which now began to animate the Established Church. The bigotry and intolerance, which almost necessarily attached to men who themselves had suffered persecution, passed away, in a great measure, with the individuals who composed the judicatories in whose hands the Revolution had placed the ecclesiastical government of Scotland. The next generation, inheriting only the advantages accruing from the new state of things, relaxed much in their hostility towards the ejected clergy; who, in their turn, whatever grievances they might have to deplore, could feel no personal enmity against those to whom the altered constitution of the country extended a legal privilege. In short, triumph on the one side and disappointment on the other, had cooled down into the gentle emotions of security and acquiescence, which gradually led both parties to the exercise of forbearance.

<sup>1</sup> Skinner, vol. ii. p. 655, where the canons are given at length, as transcribed from the original minutes. This part of Mr. Skinner's work possesses much value as a record of original matter.

But this period of prosperous tranquillity was of short duration, and a melancholy reverse was at hand, from the effects of which, the Episcopalians have not yet recovered. The attempt of Charles Edward to recover the throne of his grandfather, involved many families belonging to their communion in utter ruin, while it exposed their religion to the ban of the law, as if inconsistent at once with truth and loyalty. After the defeat at Culloden, the conduct of the magistrates was completely changed; and, as if none but prelatists had joined the standard of the Prince, the fury of the soldiers, and even of the mob, was directed exclusively against them. Their chapels were burnt down, or otherwise destroyed; the vestments and sacramental plate were seized as regular plunder, and their Prayer-books and Bibles were, in some instances, committed to the flames. Meantime, the country was placed under martial law, the clergy were compelled to seek safety in flight or concealment, and their households were exposed to insult, poverty, and threatening<sup>1</sup>. When parliament met, an Act was passed, by which it was provided, that, “from and after the 1st of September, 1746, every person exercising the function of a pastor or minister in any Episcopal meeting-house in Scotland, without registering his letters of orders, and taking all the oaths required by law, and praying for his Majesty King George and the royal family by name, shall, for the first offence, suffer six months’ imprisonment, and for the second, be transported to some one of his Majesty’s plantations for life.” Every

<sup>1</sup> Jacobite Memoirs, by Bishop Forbes.



house in which five or more persons besides the family, or five persons, if the house were not inhabited should meet for public worship, performed by a pastor or minister of the Episcopal communion, was declared to be a meeting-house within the meaning of the Act; and no letters of orders except such as had been given by some Bishop of the Church of England, or of Ireland, were allowed to be registered after the 1st of September.

The injury done to the Episcopal Church in Scotland by the persecution of the clergy, would not probably have been great or of very long duration, had it not extended likewise to the laity of that communion. But the Act further declared, that if, after the 1st of September, any person should resort to an illegal Episcopal meeting-house, and not give information within five days of such meeting to some proper magistrate, he should be subjected to fine or imprisonment. It declared further, that no peer of Scotland should be capable of being elected one of the sixteen peers of Parliament, or of voting at such election; and that no person should be capable of being elected a member of Parliament for any shire or borough, or of voting at such election, who should, within the compass of a year, have been twice present at any Episcopal meeting in Scotland, not held according to law. In this state of things some of those clergymen who, though zealous Episcopalians, had always professed themselves not Jacobites, feeling it their duty to render their chapels legal meeting-houses, repaired to the proper magistrates, took the oaths required by the Act, and had their letters of orders registered before

the 1st day of September. But this compliance availed them nothing ; for in May, 1748, the former statute was amended, when it was declared, “that no letters of orders not granted by some bishop of the Church of England or of Ireland, should, after the 29th of September, be sufficient to qualify any pastor or minister of any Episcopal meeting in Scotland, whether the same had been registered before or since the 1st of September, 1746 ; and that every such registration, whether made before or since, should be null and void.

This Act, it is manifest, was directly levelled against the religion of the Scottish Episcopalians, for it precluded them from the privilege of political repentance. As such, it was felt by the English Bishops, not one of whom would support the Bill, while some of them, as Sherlock, Secker, and Mad-dox, spoke strenuously against it, as a flagrant attack on the leading principles of Christian liberty. The amendment, however, as it was called, passed in the Commons with little opposition ; but in the House of Peers, it required great management on the part of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, who, after all his exertions, could not secure more than a majority of five. By this severe statute, the complying clergymen were subjected to the very same persecution which those endured who refused to take the oaths and to name the sovereign in their prayers. Some of them were imprisoned ; others sought shelter by crossing the Tweed ; while a greater number left their native country altogether, and endeavoured to find freedom of worship, and the means of supporting their families in the colonies of North America.

There is not to be found in any Protestant nation an example of penal laws at once so oppressive and insidious as those of which the history has now been described. A resolution was thereby avowed to extirpate a whole communion, by rendering their worship illegal, and by depriving them of all the political privileges which are most highly valued in a free country. In less enlightened times, when death was made the punishment of an erring faith, public sympathy was in general so much excited, that the bloodiest statutes were soon reduced to a dead letter. Even in Scotland, where the influence of public opinion was probably less felt than in any other European kingdom, the attempt made to check the Reformation involved the sacrifice of but few lives, whether in civil or ecclesiastical courts. The sight of a martyr, standing amidst the faggots which are about to consume his living flesh, creates deep thoughts and serious reflections in all who witness his constancy ; and hence, in most cases, the cause which has recourse to such means for support, has rushed to a speedy and irretrievable fall. But who compassionated the unseen prisoner, and the weary exile ? Who traced the steps or the sufferings of him who was chased from the scene of his Christian labours, saw his chapel closed, his flock scattered, his person reviled, and the sources of an honest independence dried up ? Law pursued him in the form of starvation and contempt ; marking him as one excluded from the benefits of civil society, deprived of political rights himself, and carrying a similar disqualification to others. Even his meek resignation and unresisting principles exposed

him to neglect ; for had he, like the Covenanter, taken the field, and sounded the note of war, he would have assumed a more interesting attitude in the public eye, and his death on the scaffold would at least have thrown a deeper odium on an illiberal government.

The privations which the Scottish Episcopalians were doomed to endure, are recorded no where, except in those private histories, the materials of which belong to biography, rather than to a general narrative. All appearance of public worship was necessarily avoided, and the clergy had recourse to a method, practised by them before they enjoyed toleration, of visiting families in private, where a few faithful followers met to celebrate the rites of their Church in the utmost secrecy <sup>1</sup>. Sometimes they had little chapels, if such they might be called, in the recesses of narrow streets or alleys, where they convened the more resolute of their adherents with caution, and by stealth. Frequently these secluded places of worship were in the lofts of ruined stables and cow-houses, and were only approachable by moveable ladders and trap-doors, placed under the charge of some vigilant friend ; and, at one time, the existence of such retreats was carefully concealed, except from those in whom the greatest reliance could be reposed. At the present day, the traveller in one part of Scotland may visit the wild caves in which the heroes of the Covenant shunned the pursuit of Claverhouse and Dalziel ; and, in another, especially in the towns beyond the Forth, he may see the rude

<sup>1</sup> Many did duty on the same Sunday, sixteen several times, to keep within the terms of the law.

garrets and antiquated apartments, wherein, during their period of dejection, were wont to assemble a few concealed worshippers belonging to the Scottish Episcopal Church. For the latter no Indulgence appeared, and to them no terms of accommodation were ever held out; and the fact that their Communion was not utterly extinguished before forty-two years of such darkness passed away, can only be ascribed to the power of principle co-operating with the sense of duty<sup>1</sup>.

In 1784, an event occurred which paved the way for the improvement of their condition. When the United States of America obtained their independence, all political connection between them and the British Churches necessarily ceased; but as an Episcopal body could not exist without Bishops, the clergy of Connecticut sent one of their number to be consecrated in England. The individual selected for this office was Dr. Samuel Seabury, upon whom the University of Oxford, a few years before, had conferred the honorary degree of Doctor in Divinity, for defending the tenets and constitution of the Church against some violent attacks made on them in our transatlantic colonies.

<sup>1</sup> Book of Scotland, p. 462. In the register of the Episcopal Chapel, at Muthill, is the following entry after a baptism, under March 20, 1750. "N.B. With such excessive severity were the penal laws executed at this time, that Andrew Moir having neglected to keep his appointment with me at my own house, this morning, and following me to Lord Rollo's house, of Duncoub, we could not take the child into a house, but I was obliged to go under the cover of the trees in one of Lord Rollo's parks, to prevent our being discovered, and baptize the child there."

Difficulties, however, were encountered in London, in reference to the oaths required of every one who is raised to the episcopate; and as a long delay seemed unavoidable, Dr. Seabury was advised to apply to the Scottish Bishops, who were not encumbered by any connection with the state. But these humble governors of an oppressed and proscribed society, aware of the delicate position they occupied, in consequence of the laws of 1746 and 1748, resolved to take no step in this matter, until they had ascertained that such a proceeding would give no offence to the English prelates. Archbishop Moore, who was respectfully consulted, assured them that by consecrating Dr. Seabury they would not only give no offence, but, on the contrary, would excite a more favourable opinion of their principles, than was generally held by those to whom their history was unknown. The Presbyter of Connecticut was accordingly invested with the highest order of priesthood, in November, 1784, and forthwith returned to his native land, the first of that rank in the American commonwealth<sup>1</sup>.

This consecration was the means of recalling to the recollection of the English bench, that a depressed branch of the Church of Christ, having the same orders, liturgy, and government with their own, continued to exist in Scotland; and as the penal laws

<sup>1</sup> For a minute and interesting account of all the circumstances attending the consecration of Bishop Seabury, and of the various methods adopted for the procurement of the Act of Toleration, see "Annals of Scottish Episcopacy," &c. by the Rev. John Skinner.

were known to operate with great force in opposing her prosperity and influence, various plans were taken into consideration for procuring their repeal. But it was not till the death of Charles Edward, in 1788, that all obstacles were removed, and the friends of religious liberty were allowed to use their utmost exertions for the emancipation of the northern Episcopalians. In the month of May, his Majesty was publicly prayed for, in the terms of the Liturgy, in all the chapels in Scotland, with the exception of three, the ministers of which required a longer period for deliberation on a matter where religious truth and political honesty seemed so deeply engaged.

Four years elapsed before an Act was obtained, repealing the laws of 1746 and 1748, and granting, at the same time, a complete toleration to the Scottish episcopal communion. The principal conditions annexed to this boon, are, that every "pastor or minister, as often as he officiates in any chapel or meeting-house, shall, at some time during the exercise of divine service, pray for the King's most excellent Majesty by name, for his heirs and successors, and for all the royal family, in the same form and words as they are or shall be directed by lawful authority to be prayed for in the Church of England"—and that every such pastor or minister "shall take and subscribe the oaths of allegiance, abjuration, and assurance, in such manner as all officers, civil and military, in Scotland, are now obliged by law to take and subscribe the same; and shall subscribe, at the same time and place, a declaration of his assent to the thirty-nine articles of the Church of England, as

contained in the Act passed in the thirteenth year of Queen Elizabeth<sup>1</sup>.”

There is one clause, however, which seems to betray a feeling of jealousy or apprehension, not quite consistent with the generous spirit of the British legislature, or with the liberal feelings of the English Church. “ Provided also, and be it further enacted, that no person exercising the function, or assuming the office and character of a pastor or minister of any order, in the Episcopal communion in Scotland, as aforesaid, shall be capable of taking any benefice, curacy, or other spiritual promotion, within that part of Great Britain called England, the dominion of Wales, or town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, or of officiating in any church or chapel within the same, where the Liturgy of the Church of England, as now by law established, is used, unless he shall have been lawfully ordained by some Bishop of the Church of England, or of Ireland.”

In this respect, the Scottish Episcopalians are placed on a footing less favourable than that which they were allowed to occupy during the domination of the penal laws ; for while they were not permitted to have chapels in their own country, they were eligible to cures in the Church of England. Perhaps there will appear less ground of complaint, when it is considered that the colonial clergy, though ordained by Bishops of the Establishment, are subjected to a similar exclusion ; the principle in both cases having respect, not to the validity of the orders conferred,

<sup>1</sup> See “ Narrative of the Proceedings relating to the Bill, &c. for granting relief to pastors, ministers, and lay persons, of the Episcopal Communion in Scotland, 1792.”



but to certain literary, or rather academical qualifications. But the object, whatever it is, might perhaps be gained without carrying the prohibition so far as to the simple act of officiating in any place of worship beyond the border ; a circumstance which seems intended to preclude all professional communion among clergymen who hold the same faith, use the same liturgy, derive their spiritual authority from the same source, and adhere to the same views of ecclesiastical constitution, merely because one portion of them is established, and the others not. Such lawgiving affords but too much countenance to the charge sometimes brought by the Roman Catholics against the Anglican Church, that she seeks no other basis than an Act of Parliament, and restricts all Christian intercourse to the limits of the statute. Her revenues and dignities it may be right to protect against needy and ambitious aspirants ; but if the term "communion" has any meaning in sacred or technical language, it ought certainly to comprehend, so far as a reciprocity of clerical offices is concerned, all who repeat the same creed, sign the same articles, and bind themselves to the same allegiance.

One of the most gratifying results, springing from the toleration conceded to the Scottish Episcopalians, was their gradual union with those of English and Irish orders who had settled in the country, and a hearty recognition, by the latter, of the spiritual authority of the native Bishops. A distinction, which originated in the hard necessity of the times, was happily superseded by a return to the principles of the constitution, as well as of the Church ; and, at the present day, with two or three exceptions, the

Episcopalians in the north are of one body and one spirit. This consummation, which all true churchmen greatly desired, from the moment the penal laws were annulled, was not a little facilitated by the judicious exertions of several English prelates, especially of the late Bishop Horsley, who exposed the absurdity of the opinion, entertained by a few migratory clergymen, that, though officiating in Scotland, they might still regard themselves as under the inspection of the Ordinary to whose diocese they originally belonged.

As to the Presbyterian Church, whose history, during a hundred and fifty years, is so closely connected with that of the Episcopal, no remarkable event occurs after the period of the great Secession, when the remains of the Remonstrants, under different names, having issued from her pale, she was allowed to cultivate learning and practise liberality. The ministers who began to figure in her judicatories, about the middle of the last century, shewed themselves ready to combine the love of freedom with the duty of submission; to assert the rights which belonged to themselves, and to grant the fullest enjoyment of those which belonged to others.

The limits to which this little work is confined, have rendered necessary the exclusion of a great mass of materials, which force themselves upon the notice of every reader of Scottish history; the purpose contemplated in its composition having no higher aim than to convey to such as have not perused more capacious and recondite volumes, some notion as to the origin of those opinions, ecclesiastical forms, and usages, which continue to divide the people in this

section of the kingdom. I have endeavoured to exhibit events in a fair and impartial light, and to abstain from the imputation of all motives not avowed or revealed in the actions to which they gave rise. If any bias be perceptible, let it be ascribed to the fact that the story of our mutual errors, sufferings, and struggles, has, in this part of the island, been usually told under a strong leaning the other way. Even Hume, whose disposition was naturally candid, has not carried his research beyond the pages of Burnet and Wodrow, sources which cannot be pronounced free from suspicion. With respect to authorities, that most essential point, I can declare, that I have not intentionally ascribed an undue importance to episcopal writers or documents.

Among the omissions which must be perceived in this abridgment, I regret especially the necessity of leaving out a chapter on the learning and professional works of churchmen during the seventeenth century.

THE END.

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